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THE

SCOURGE OF CHRISTENDOM

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THE

SCOURGE OF CHRISTENDOM

ANNALS OF BRITISH RELATIONS WITH ALGIERS

PRIOR TO THE FRENCH CONQUEST

BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL R. L. PLAYFAIR

H. M. CONSUL-GENERAL AT ALGIERS

AUTHOR OF 'TRAVELS IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF BRUCE,' (MURRAY'S) 'HANDBOOK TO THE MEDITERRANEAN,' (MURRAY'S) 'HANDBOOK TO ALGERIA AND TUNIS,' ETC.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON

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1884

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PREFACE.

THE TITLE of this work hardly perhaps defines the author's object with sufficient accuracy. A complete history of what the Dey and his Divan fondly called 'The famous and warlike city of Algiers' would comprise that of all the maritime states of Europe from the sixteenth century, and a never-ending series of intestine struggles and revolutions that would possess no interest for any one. The author does not propose to do more than to illustrate the history of *British relations* with this 'Scourge of Christendom,' from its origin as a piratical state till the abolition of Christian slavery by Lord Exmouth in 1816, and the final conquest of the country by the French. A history, in fact, of the consulate of Algiers, the first ever constituted by England.

The materials for this work are abundant, but not easily accessible to the general public. They consist of:—

(1) A nearly complete collection of the correspondence of diplomatic agents and consuls at Algiers, and Royal letters from 1600, preserved in the Public Record Office. As most of the information contained in the following pages is derived from this source,

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it has not been thought necessary to encumber the pages with notes of reference when such is the case.

(2) The Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, containing the papers of Secretary Thurloe, Mr. Pepys, and others, redeemed by Rawlinson from 'thus et odores vendentibus;' bought by him in a grocer's shop.

(3) Various manuscripts and parliamentary reports in the British Museum.

(4) The archives of the British Consulate at Algiers. Unfortunately these do not extend further back than 1824; all previous documents were destroyed in the various so-called 'wars,' or taken away by departing consuls. This is the less to be regretted, as the originals of their despatches are preserved in the Record Office.

(5) The archives of the other consulates at Algiers, of which those of the United States of America are the most important. Fortunately, while not a single document exists in the British Consulate connected with Lord Exmouth's victory, one which is justly regarded by us with triumphant pride, the admirable despatches of Mr. William Shaler, the American Consul, fully supply the deficiency. I cannot sufficiently testify my thanks to my American colleague, Mr. Alexander Jourdan, for having at my urgent solicitation traced them out, and rescued them from the oblivion of a garret at Marseilles.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

Frontispiece.

PLAN OF ALGIERS IN 1749.

The prints of which Plates I., II., and III. are photographic copies were formerly in the possession of His Majesty George IV., and are now in the British Museum, King's Library, *press mark* $\frac{\text{C.XVII.}}{71}$. The date of this plate and of No. III. is 1776, but, from the fact of the *Centurion* being depicted in the harbour, the original drawings were probably made between 1749 and 1751, during the mission of Commodore the Hon. Augustus Keppel (see p. 189). His flagship was the *Centurion*, and Mr., afterwards Sir Joshua, Reynolds was a passenger on board. It is more than probable that he was the author of the sketches from which the engravings were made. The legend in the upper left-hand corner is as follows:—

a. View of Algiers.
b. Christian Slaves drawing the stone-carts.
c. Dey's House.
d. Mosques, or Churches.
e. Walls surrounding the City.
f. Ditch round City, at present nearly filled up.
g. Bab el-Weld, or West Gate.
h. Bab Azoon, or South Gate.
i. Porta Nova, or New Gate.
k. Marine Gate.
l. Fishers' Gate, or Gate of the Sea.
m. Cassaubah Fort.
n. The Port.
o. Guard Vessel at ye entrance of ye port.
p. Lanthern Castle.
q. Grand Battery.
r. Rope Walk.
s. His Majesty's Ship 'Centurion.'
t. Captain of the Port in his launch.
u. Emperor's Castle.
x. English Castle.
y. Fort Renegadas.
Y. Gardens.
A. Bujareah.
B. Mausoleums of several Deys that were murdered in one day.
C. Grave Stones.
D. The Manner of conveying ye Algerine Women to their Gardens.
E. The Bay of Algiers.
F. Mount Atlas.

* *Sunken rock, a cable, and a half-length in a line from the great gun.*

In the lower right-hand corner there is a similar legend in French.

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PLATE II.

To face page 32.

An engraving of Algiers in 1579, signed '*Henricus van Schoel* formain Roma A. 1601.' Probably the oldest document in existence connected with Algiers. A much more modern, but undated, copy of this print, or rather one based upon it, also exists.

LEGEND AT THE FOOT OF THE PRINT.

A. Porta di Balazō et ponte sopra il fosso (Bab Azoun Gate).
B. Porte tre del arsenale et l' arsenale.
C. Porta della citta all' arsenale e' un magazino.
D. Porte due alla Marina.
E. Porta de babaluet con il ponte leuatore (Gate of Bab el-Oued).
F. Porte due per entrare dala citta alalcazaba (Gates of the Kasbah).
G. Porta nova detta badax idit (Bab el-Djedid).
H. Porta di soccorso di dietro alalcazaba.
I. Baluardi dui noui della alcazaba.
K. Baluardi de venegati col' serraglio de Genizeri.
L. Baluardo de Babazō (Bab Azoun) *e casa de soldati.*
M. Baluardo de cochia peri e casa de Genizeri.
N. Baluardi due della marina.
O. Baluardo de baluet (Bab el-Oued) *de puoui alam.*
[In the later copy of this print it is thus given: *Baluardo de Baluet et casa d mocharreri cioè soldati probati in le arme.*]
P. Baluardo nouo fatto yaya Raez (Yehia Rais).
Q. Moschea Maggiore doue concorre tutto il populo.
R. Moschea di Re e di Turchi.
S. Moschea detta zouya (Zaouiah) *doue abita zidi Babaruez* (Sidi [illegible] Aroudj).
T. Moschea de zidi Bobbadien.
V. Moschea de zidi Rabbadan.
X. Fontana Grande et altre fontane picole.
Y. Piazza del Re.
Z. Piazzi del Butaro.

1. *Piazza della archibugiaria del pesce.*
2. *El zocco* (sook, or market-place) *grande.*
3. *Banchi.*
4. *Strada grande del zocco.*
5. *Strada larga.*
6. *Strada delli' orefici.*
7. *La Zereria.*
8. *Calle de tintori.*
9. *Strada de spadari.*
10. *Calle nova.*
11. *Giudeica maggiore ouero alta.*
12. *Giudeica bassa.*
13. *Giudeica de babaluet* (Bab el-Oued).
14. *Palazzo maggiore del Re.*
15. *Palazzo del Re alla marina nouo.*
16. *Palazzo de Luchiali che e' al ponte.*
17. *Palazzo de Ali Chilibi.*
18. *Palazzo de Hayiyabai.*
19. *Palazzo de Albamat.*
20. *Palazzo de Chibabi.*
21. *Palazzo nouo de Yaya Raez.*
22. *Palazzo de Xaloche Bassa al Ponte di Alessandria.*
23. *Palazzo de Memi ervaez corso.*
24. *Palazzo del caualerizzo del Re.*
25. *Zecca doue si fa la moneta.*
26. *Scala doue si legge la setta Mahometana.*
27. *Prigione ouero cacere.*
28. *Palazzo doue il Re tiene la ragione de soldati.*
29. *Bagni de lauarsi.*
30. *Seraglio de Christiani.*
31. *Seraglio o bagno delli amalati.*
32. *Seraglio o bagno della Bastarda.*
33. *Seraglio o bagno di leoni et altri animali.*
34. *Seraglio o bagno di chiobali.*
35. *Seraglio o bagno di Yaloche arvaez.*
36. *Seraglio o bagno di Mami arvaez Napolitano.*
37. *Ladouana o uero datio.*
38. *Laraba o uero fondaco del formento.*
39. *Loco doue si uende legname.*
40. *Loco doue s allogiano i Ettiani per andar a lauorare.*
41. *Giardino sopra la porta di Balbazor* (Bab Azoun).
42. *Castello Imperiale o uero Burchio.*
43. *Strada per andare a Oran et a Tremezan.*
44. *Montagna detta la Calcara.*
45. *Sepolcro del figliolo di Saripha.*
46. *Muraglia simplice che diuide la citta de alcazaba.*
47. *La Calzaba* (Kasbah).
48. *L' arsenale del quale tie la Piazza del Mare.*

PLATE III.

To face page 175.

VIEW OF ALGIERS IN 1749.

This is a companion Plate to No. I., both being '*Published as the Act directs by Richard Ball, April* 12, 1776.' It represents Algiers at the same date, and also shows the *Centurion* at anchor in the harbour. Doubtless it is by the same hand.

PLATE IV.

To face page 240.

Facsimile of the Turkish firman by the Dey of Algiers granting the coral fishery of La Calle and the trade of Bone to the English.

PLATE V.

To face page 260.

Rough sketch of the position of the combined English and Dutch squadrons under Lord Exmouth at the battle of Algiers. The original of this sketch is in Additional MSS., British Museum, No. 23618, fol. 33, and formerly belonged to Lieut.-Col. C. H. Smith, by whom it was probably drawn.

PLATE VI.

To face page 299.

BOMBARDMENT OF ALGIERS BY SIR HARRY NEALE IN 1824.

The Dey of Algiers was so pleased at having got the better of the English in diplomacy that he commissioned a native artist to make a painting of the incident. The original was found in his palace when Algiers was taken. General de Bourmont gave it to his *chef d'état major*, Tolozi; after his death his nephew, De Campox, caused a copy to be made by a

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well-known artist in Paris, M. Jonaille, which he presented to the public library at Algiers. This illustration has been photographed from the copy in question.

The steamer represented was the first ever used in warfare; the Admiral's boat is represented going on shore under a flag of truce. On the hill to the right is the British consular garden, with the English flag flying.

PLATE VII.

To face page 320.

Plan of the environs of Algiers immediately after the French conquest. Copied, by permission of the Minister of War, from a plan in the office of the Chief Engineer at Algiers.

The house marked *M^on des Consuls réunis* is that of the American Consul, where a meeting of the Consuls took place during the operations of the French. That marked M^on Bowen is now known as the Chateau Hydra.

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SCOURGE OF CHRISTENDOM.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY: GENERAL STATE OF THINGS AT ALGIERS.

EVEN as early as 1390 Barbary corsairs began to trouble the seas, and at the urgent request of the Genoese, a force consisting of a 'great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen of France and England,' set out from Genoa to chastise them. Polidore Virgil says that the English were commanded by Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry IV., but Froissart states that their leader was John de Beaufort, natural son of the Duke of Lancaster; the whole were commanded by the Duc de Bourbon. They landed at Mehedia, on the coast of Tunis, where the English archers did good service with their long-bows, beating back the enemy from the shore.

They besieged Mehedia, 'but at length, constrained with the intemperancy of the scalding air in that hot country, breeding in the army sundry

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diseases, they fell to a compensation on certain articles, and so sixty-one days after their arrival they returned home.'[1]

After the fall of Granada in 1492 the ravages of the pirates became more serious; a considerable number of Moorish families from Spain settled in North Africa; they were too much exasperated against their persecutors not to seek every opportunity for revenge, and, being well acquainted with the coasts of their native country, their fury naturally fell upon the Spaniards nearest the Mediterranean. But it was not confined to these alone, English traders were great sufferers; indeed the Moors openly avowed themselves the common enemies of Christendom.

Ferdinand became seriously alarmed; in 1509 his fleets took possession of Oran and Bougia (Bougie), and a force was sent to reconnoitre Algiers, but, finding nothing there save a small harbour and a walled enceinte, they contented themselves with occupying one of the *Islands* which give its name[2] to the place, subsequently called the Peñon, which they fortified strongly. They were thus able to prevent any piratical craft from entering or leaving the harbour, and the inhabitants had no choice but to acknowledge the supremacy of the Spaniards, and to pay them a yearly, but unwilling tribute. This state of enforced tranquillity lasted till the death of Ferdinand in 1516, which appeared to the Algerines a favourable opportunity to recover their liberty. They offered the sovereignty of their city to Salem

[1] Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 69.

[2] *El-Djezair*, the Islands.

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et-Teumi, an Arab from Blidah, in the Metidja plain, who at once commenced to blockade the Peñon and prevent all provisions from being supplied to it; while the fort retaliated by cannonading the town.

In this emergency Salem sent an embassy to invite the celebrated corsairs, Baba Aroudj, or Barbarossa, as he was called by Europeans, and his brother Kheir-ed-din, Greeks of Mytilene, who had settled at Djidjely, to come to Algiers and assist him in expelling the Spaniards. Aroudj was only too happy to accept the invitation, and leaving his brother to follow with the fleet, he advanced on Algiers by land with 5,000 men. Soon after his arrival he determined to make himself master of the place; he strangled the Amir with his own hands, forced his wife to commit suicide rather than submit to a worse fate, and massacred all the women of his harem. He took possession of the place, nominally as a vassal of the Sultan, but really as an independent ruler.

In 1518 Aroudj was killed in an encounter with the Spaniards at Rio-Salado, near Tlemçen, while operating against the Abd-el-Ouadite Prince Abou Hammon, and was succeeded at Algiers by his brother Kheir-ed-din.

In 1529 the latter succeeded in taking the Peñon fort from the Spaniards, with very little opposition, killing or enslaving its garrison, and putting to death its brave commander, Don Martin de Vargas. He at once deprived it of its insular position by joining it to the mainland by means of a causeway; thus forming the harbour or mole, destined for so

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many generations to be the 'Scourge of Christendom.'

The history of Algiers as a piratical state really commences with the reign of Kheir-ed-din. Year by year the depredations of the Barbary corsairs became more audacious; they could not support themselves without roaming the sea for plunder, which they did, without the least fear or apprehension, as far even as the shores of England. At other times, carrying with them renegades as guides, they deliberately landed on the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean, pillaged towns, villages and farms, and carried off their inhabitants into the most wretched captivity. In this manner they utterly ruined Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, many parts of the coast of Italy and Spain, and the Balearic islands. They arrogated to themselves the right to wage war on every nation of Europe which did not purchase their forbearance by tribute or special treaties, and they absolutely declined to be on friendly terms with more than one or two at a time, so that they might be free to plunder the remainder. They dictated the most humiliating conditions and restrictions in matters concerning the internal affairs of the Christian powers, especially with regard to their navigation laws, such as the nature of the passes their vessels were to carry, and the number of foreigners allowed to be on board, and they successfully maintained their right to search all vessels on the high seas. They never hesitated to send the representatives of the most powerful monarchs to hard labour, in chains, at the quarries,

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or even to blow them away from guns, on the smallest provocation.

It seems incredible at the present day that such a state of things could have been permitted to exist; that so infamous a rabble should have been allowed the undisputed right of interfering with the commerce of the world, and enriching themselves with the ransom of the best blood of Christendom. The only explanation is that one nation found these corsairs a convenient scourge for others with whom it was at war, and hesitated at no means to increase its own influence with them. Thus the consuls of the various nations, but especially those of England and France, were perpetually scheming to induce the Dey to break peace with the rival nation, or to prevent its restoration after war had actually broken out. The whole history of the Algerines shows that they never respected any treaty when they could violate it with advantage or probable impunity; nevertheless they continued till the very last to be treated by all the maritime nations with a degree of respect to which they never had any just claim. England, France, and Spain were the only powers able to exempt themselves from the payment of actual tribute, and even these made them, under the form of consular presents, most valuable gifts both in money and warlike stores, in the hope of conciliating their friendship, a line of policy which never produced anything save momentary security. These consular presents were in reality as much dues as any other payments, and no consideration whatever

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was attached to them beyond their intrinsic value. It nearly always happened that these fell short of the Dey's expectation, and the consul was compelled to make good the deficiency. Presents had also to be made to all the chief officers of the Regency at the various Mohammedan festivals, to the officers and soldiers of the batteries whenever they saluted the consul or his national flag, and on many other occasions.

The weaker nations which had to submit to the humiliation of paying actual tribute were treated in the most contemptuous manner, and in the event of too long arrears remaining unpaid, their consuls were sent to hard labour in chains, from which some of them actually died.

Mr. Eaton,[1] American Consul at Tunis, who was sent to Algiers in charge of four vessels, as arrears of tribute due by the United States, in 1798, hardly exaggerated when he said:—'Can any man believe that this elevated brute has seven kings of Europe, two Republics, and a continent tributary to him, when his whole naval force is not equal to two line-of-battle ships?'

On the other hand, it must be avowed that the Algerines were not singular in their mode of making captives. Every state of Europe held it lawful, at one time, to enslave an infidel; the common law of England, as well as the Inquisition, doomed heretics

[1] For an interesting account of Mr. Eaton's filibustering expedition from Egypt by land to Derna in the Cyrenaica, see Shippen, *United Service Review*. Philadelphia, July 1881.

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to the stake. All that can be said of the Algerines is that they made the trade in Christian slaves their principal branch of commerce, and that they continued their detestable practices to a period when they were generally reprobated by public opinion and, the laws of nations. They were not even always the aggressors; very frequently, in times of nominal peace, when their vessels were driven by stress of weather to the Christian shores of the Mediterranean, they were treated as outlaws and pirates, and their crews doomed to the galleys, where they were in greater demand than men of any other race. They were acclimatised to heat, sober in their life, and able to work at the oar—labour so severe that no volunteers could ever be found for it. News of this reached their native place, measures of reprisal were at once taken on Christian slaves, sometimes even on foreign consuls, and not unfrequently war was forthwith declared on the offending nation.

Until 1618 Algiers was governed by a Pasha in direct subordination to the Porte. At that date the Sultan consented to his being nominated by the Militia, but reserved the right of confirmation. In 1661 the Janissaries, dissatisfied with the Pasha, gave the actual authority to their own Agha, and in 1671 they elected one of their body as Dey or Protector. From that time the Pasha sent by the Porte had to content himself with the honours of his position, without exercising any real power; he was allowed an income sufficient to maintain himself with dignity, and was even permitted to preside at General

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Divans, but without any deliberative voice. From 1710 the title of Pasha was conferred on the Dey, and the two offices became united in the same person.

Everything connected with the subject of Christian slavery in the Barbary States is of the deepest interest. When that institution was at its height there were from 20,000 to 30,000 captives at a time in Algiers alone, representing every nation in Europe, and every rank in society, from the Viceroy to the common sailor, men of the highest eminence in the church, literature, science and arms, delicately nurtured ladies and little children, doomed to spend their lives in infamy. The majority never returned to their native land, and comparatively few have left us a detailed account of their sufferings, or a record of the dramatic events passing every day around them.

Words cannot paint their miserable condition, yet, deplorable as it was, there is no reason to suppose that it was worse than that of galley-slaves in France, Spain, Italy, or Malta. We may search in vain for records of greater cruelty than the tortures inflicted during the reign of Louis XIV. on the Huguenot prisoners during their long and painful marches from Paris to the coast, when as many as 400 were sometimes fastened together by the neck, couple behind couple, to a long central chain, till they were finally consigned to the unspeakable tortures of the royal galleys at Toulon or Marseilles.

The slaves at Algiers were either the property of

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the Dey or of private individuals. When a prize was taken, the passengers and crew were forced by the torture of the bastinado to declare their quality and condition. When brought into port they were conducted to the Dey's house, where the European consuls generally repaired; there they had to pass a very strict examination as to whether they were serving for pay or were merely passengers; in the latter case, if their nation were at peace with Algiers, they were generally released; in the former they were retained in slavery. The partition then took place; the Dey took one out of every eight at his option, choosing, in preference, masters of vessels, surgeons, carpenters and other skilled workmen, whom he at once sent to the public bagnos. He likewise took as his prerogative any persons who might be of exceptional consequence, without prejudice to his eighth part, leaving the residue to be divided between the owners and crew of the cruisers. They were then taken to the public market, where the first sale was made; they were put in charge of brokers, who walked them up and down the street, publishing the quality and profession of each, and specifying the last price offered, till no further bidder appeared. This first offer never rose very high, as the ultimate sale had to take place in the Dey's court-yard and in his presence. Thither all who were really disposed to purchase resorted; the slaves were again put up to auction one by one and delivered to the last bidders, who took home their purchases and did with them what they pleased. The amount of the first sale belonged to the captors;

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whatever was advanced beyond the first bidding belonged absolutely to the beylic, and this often greatly exceeded the original bid.

Government slaves generally wore a ring of iron on one ankle and were distributed in three prisons or bagnos, wherein they were locked up every night. These were vast edifices divided off into low, dark cells, each capable of holding fifteen or sixteen slaves. Some had a mat, but the damp earth generally formed their bed. These wretched places swarmed with vermin and contained each 500 or 600 slaves; when there was no more room for them to lie down in the cells, they had to sleep in the passages or on the terraced roofs.

In every bagno there was a small chapel, and the slaves were allowed the free exercise of their religion and the ministration of the devoted missionaries, belonging to various orders of priests, who braved pestilence, sufferings of every kind, and frequently even death itself to afford them the consolations of religion, and to distribute among them the alms of the faithful. At the great Christian festivals, especially Christmas and Easter, the slaves frequently participated in the general rejoicing; thus the French Consul used to give them a dinner on Sunday, the English Consul on Monday, the Swedish on Tuesday, and the Dutch on another day. The Protestant Consuls and merchants never refused to contribute to the collections made by the slaves for their chapels, and cordially assisted in purchasing the freedom of Catholic captives.

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Thus the consolations of religion were the only alleviations in a life otherwise of inconceivable sufferings. Each beylic slave was supplied with three loaves of coarse black bread daily; all else he had to obtain by his own industry or from the charity of free Christians. They had to work from early morning till late in the afternoon, excepting on Fridays, when they were free either to take their repose or to work for themselves. Their labour was exceedingly hard, and sometimes they had to perform their tasks laden with heavy chains. Some were sent to the quarries to break stones; others were harnessed to carts to convey building materials to the various public works. Those employed at the ovens were even more miserable, having hardly any respite day or night; the filth of these ovens was horrible, and the heat unbearable. Vermin swarmed everywhere. Those of the slaves who were able to act as skilled labourers could hardly ever hope to obtain their freedom, save on the most onerous conditions. The Dey sometimes sent a number of them to sea, and in that case they were allowed one-third of their share of booty. Others were allowed to keep taverns, paying duties proportionate to the quantity of wine they sold; and these sometimes amassed a sufficient sum to purchase their freedom.

The slaves of private persons were more or less wretched according to the humour of their purchasers. Some were, in every respect, liberty excepted, as happy as their patrons, lodging in the same chamber and eating at the same table; but generally

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they were meanly dieted, perpetually abused, beaten unmercifully, and exposed to all sorts of cruelties. The Père Dan mentions having seen some with chains on both legs so heavy and long that they were obliged to carry one in a basket on the shoulder, and to drag the other along as best they could. In almost every case they were hated on account of their religion, and in everlasting danger of renouncing their faith either through debauchery, if they had a little liberty, or through despair if their treatment were too severe.

If a slave ever dared to raise his hand against his master, the retribution was terrible. A young Christian on one occasion killed his master under provocation so gross as fully to justify the act. He was dragged to the place of execution over the rough and pointed stones, subjected to the insults of an excited and brutal crowd. On his arrival there each of the spectators seemed to take a pleasure in assisting at the work. He was crucified against the wall with four large nails; a red-hot iron was thrust through his cheeks to prevent him from speaking, and, in this condition, he was slowly burnt to death with firebrands. Such acts of cruelty were by no means uncommon, and even the simple bastinado, administered at the request of any Turk, was hardly less terrible in its effects than the most refined tortures.

The method of administering this punishment is thus described by William Okeley, a British captive: 'They have a strong staff about six feet long, in the middle whereof there are two holes bored, into which

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a cord is put, and the ends of the cord fastened on one side the staff with knots, so that it makes a loop on the other side; into this both the feet of the person condemned to this punishment are put; then two lusty fellows, one at each end of the staff, lift it up in their arms, and twisting the staff about till the feet are fast pinched by the ankles, they raise his feet, with the soles upwards, as high as their shoulders, and in this posture they hold them, the poor man in the mean time resting only with his neck and shoulders on the ground. Then comes another lusty, sturdy knave behind him, and, with a tough, short truncheon, gives him as many violent blows on the soles of his feet as the council shall order.'

This frightful punishment was not confined to slaves. Monsieur Laugier de Tassy relates that a Turk, probably under the influence of drink, had struck and ill-used Mr. Thomson, the English Consul-General; he was bastinadoed till his feet fell off; he then received 1,000 blows on his back, and was left to die of pain, hunger and thirst. Punishments for capital offences were carried out in the most barbarous manner even on Mohammedans. Mrs. Broughton describes the execution of one poor wretch for murder. He was sentenced to have his legs and arms broken in three places with a blacksmith's hammer on an anvil. At the twelfth blow life was not yet extinct.

Communication between foreigners and the Turkish officials was by no means easy; these rarely spoke anything but their own tongue, and invariably used it in official correspondence with Christian

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states. Even Arabic, the language of the people, but also that of the Koran, and the noblest of any in the estimation of good Mohammedans, was despised by them. On one occasion a consul, who understood it thoroughly, attempted to address the Dey in it, without the intervention of an interpreter; he was sternly rebuked by that functionary, who said, 'Does this man take me for a Moor?'

To facilitate ordinary communication between foreigners and Turkish officials, a mongrel dialect sprung up called *lingua Franca*, which bore about the same relation to Italian and Spanish as the negro jargon of America or the *pigeon* of China does to pure English. This was not well adapted for serious discourse, and its interpretation again depended upon the dialectic skill of ignorant and generally knavish interpreters, for the Dey and his courtiers had little or no knowledge of it. This only ceased to exist when the country fell under the authority of the French.

I cannot better illustrate the nature of the government and constitution of the State of Algiers than by quoting an interesting memoir on the subject which exists in the Public Record Office. It was written by the learned Dr. Shaw, then Chaplain to the Consulate, and transmitted by him to the Duke of Newcastle in 1729.

Thomas Shaw matriculated as *Bateller* at Queen's College, Oxford, on October 5, 1711. After taking orders he was appointed Consular Chaplain at Algiers, where he remained twelve years. On leaving his

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post, in July 1732, the Dey wrote to His Majesty to inform him that during all the time Dr. Shaw had resided at Algiers 'he has so conducted himself as to give offence to none, but, on the contrary, he has been agreeable to all, and every one esteems him. You will find in him a man thoroughly capable of giving your Majesty accurate information on all subjects.'[1] After leaving Algiers he travelled in various parts of the Levant; while absent he was chosen fellow of his college, and after his return he became Doctor of Divinity and Fellow of the Royal Society.

In 1740 he was nominated Principal of Edmund Hall, which he raised by his munificence from a ruinous condition. He was also Regius Professor of Greek, and Vicar of Bramley, in Hampshire.

In the books of the college it is said that he "Obiit die Fundatoris (i.e. August 15) 1751.'

He had previously married the widow of Mr. Holden, the Consul-General under whom he had served at Algiers.

His learned work, 'Travels and Researches in Barbary and the Levant,' has ever been considered a classical one; but it has one defect, it is not always possible to discriminate between what he states from personal observation, and what he learnt at second hand.

The government of Algiers consists of the Dey, who is to be considered as the Stadtholder, and of a Divan, or common council. The Divan is composed principally of the thirty Yehia-Bashis, but upon extraordinary occasions the Mufti

[1] *State Papers, Modern Royal Letters,* Algiers, vol. xxxv. p. 182.

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and Cadi (and sometimes the whole soldiery) are called upon to assist. All affairs of moment and consideration should be laid before, and agreed upon by, this assembly before they pass into laws, and before the Dey is entrusted with the putting of them in execution. But of late there has been little account made of this venerable body. It is, indeed, still formally convened, but then it is only to consent to such propositions as the Dey had beforehand concerted, whereby in effect the whole power is lodged in one person.

This person, or the Dey, is chosen out of the army, each order of it, even the most inferior, having an equal right and title to this dignity with the highest. Every bold and aspiring soldier, though but yesterday from the plough, may be considered here as the heir-apparent to the royal caftan, and with this advantage, that he is under no necessity of waiting till sickness or old age cuts off the present incumbent: it is enough that he is able to protect himself with the same scimitar which he has the courage to sheath in the bowels of his predecessor.

The chief command here, as it was in the declension of the Roman empire, lies open and exposed to every bold pretender who, if he has the resolution only to attack, will rarely fail to carry it. The truth of this is obvious from that speedy succession which has been always amongst the Deys, rarely above one in twelve having the good fortune to die in his bed. And even those persons, who have been so happy as to make these extraordinary exits, cannot attribute them to any superior regard and esteem which the army had for them in particular, but to their own superior good luck and foresight in being beforehand with a plot, and in giving the first blow to a conspiracy. This bloody and barbarous method of succeeding to the Deyship seems surprising to persons long accustomed to regular successions and civilised governments, yet it is what may be very well accounted for here, where a strict and regular discipline has been for a long time wanting, and where every poor scoundrel, after a campaign or two under the colours, has the ambition to

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think himself considerable enough either to push for the caftan himself, or at least to contribute in the promotion of another to it.

To make up the deficiencies in the army, their cruisers are sent up from time to time to the Levant for recruits. I had the good fortune to see one of these returns; but certainly there was never got together a set of greater raggamuffins, banditti, cowherds and persons of the most miserable appearance.

Mahomet Bashaw, the late Dey, was not ashamed of his extraction; in a notable reply he made to a complaint of the French consul's, signifying to him that his cruisers had pillaged some of their *satias*. 'My mother,' says the Dey, 'sold sheep's feet, and my father neats' tongues, but they would have been ashamed to have exposed to sale so worthless a tongue as yours.' Yet this ragged gentry, after a little polishing at Algiers, after they have got caps to their heads and shoes to their feet, and perhaps a pair of large knives to their girdle, observing how large a share they have in the government, and that they are the guardians and protectors of the kingdom, and that every Moor or Arab lies drooping before them—after all these honours and privileges, I say, these tatterdemalions affect grandeur and majesty, expect the title of *Effendi*, or Your Grace, and look upon the best of us as if he were his groom or his footman. But besides these Levant Turks, the Dey may at his pleasure, and upon any emergency, enrol the Coulouglies, or the sons of such soldiers as have been permitted to marry at Algiers; but since an unsuccessful attempt made by these half Turks, as we may call them, upon the government, they have been very little made use of and encouraged, and are always excluded from the honour and benefit of being Dey, Agha of the Janissaries, and other considerable offices.

The whole force of Algiers in Turks and Coulouglies is computed at present to be betwixt six and seven thousand, two of which are supposed to be excused from duty; and of the 4,500 active men which remain, 1,000 only are employed

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to relieve yearly their garrisons, and about 2,500 to form each summer, at the collection of their taxes, three flying camps, under the command of the three provincial Beys of Titteri, Constantine and Oran. For their returns of duty are so well calculated, that each soldier, provided he goes not in their cruising vessels, may lie one whole year in three and one winter besides. To these Turkish troops we may join about 2,000 *Zowiah*, or Moorish horse, which the Dey keeps always in pay; but these, though they may augment the number of arms, yet are little considered in the real safeguard and defence of the kingdom. The method, therefore, of keeping so large and populous a kingdom as this in awe and obedience, is not by force of arms, but by diligently observing that old political maxim, 'Divide and command.' For the Beys are very watchful over the motions of the Arab tribes who are under their several districts and jurisdictions; and as these are in continual disputes and jealousies with each other, the Beys have little else to do but to blow up the fire, and to throw in, at proper times, new matter of discord and contention. Here are a great number of powerful clans, any one of which, in case their neighbours would stand neuter, could be too hard for the whole soldiery of Algiers, though each Turk values himself as a match for twenty Arabs. In these conjunctures the Beys play one tribe against another; and if the quarrel proves equal, a few Turks seasonably thrown in will be always more than an over-balance for the enemy. By thus continually sowing and fomenting divisions amongst the Arab princes, and afterwards drawing one family to fight against another, this handful of Turks maintain their ground against all opposition, and lay their neighbours, the Tuniseens and Western Moors, under great obligations for not extending their conquests into their dominions.

In this small army (and it would be the same if it amounted to its pretended and former complement of 12,000) are the *Agha*, or General, thirty *Yehia-Bashis*, or Colonels, 800 *Bulluk-Bashis*, or Captains, and about half that number

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of *Oda-Bashis*, or Lieutenants. The method of arriving at these posts is not by money and interest, but by age and seniority, the oldest soldier stepping in upon the death of his lieutenant, and the oldest lieutenant upon the death of his captain, &c., though by the permission of the Dey a younger soldier may purchase the rank of an elder, the elder lowering himself to his place in return. There is another method of hastening these promotions, for the Agha is removed every pay, or two months, being succeeded by the *Kehia*, or the senior *Yehia-Bashi*, whereby there is a place vacant in the Divan, to be immediately filled up by the eldest Bulluk-Bashi, who is likewise to be succeeded by the eldest Oda-Bashi, &c. The Agha, after having thus passed through all his offices, and through the whole course of his duty, is from thence considered as superannuated, enjoying his pay and obliged to no service.

I cannot learn that the yearly taxes of this great and fertile kingdom bring more into the Treasury than 300,000 dollars, each dollar of the value of three shillings and sixpence, though it is computed that the casualties—such as the eighth part in prizes, the effects of persons dying without children, and the frequent *Avarias* and impositions—may bring in the like sum. But to compensate this, the pay is but small, the youngest soldier having but 406 aspers every two months, and the oldest, or those on full pay, but 5,800, of which 696 make a dollar. And as several years are required to arrive at full pay, the young soldiers receiving an augmentation only of 116 aspers every year, we may reduce the army to 3,500 on full pay, whereby less than 200,000 dollars will defray all that expense. But besides their pay, the unmarried Aghas, Yehia-Bashis, and Bulluk-Bashis, have eight loaves of bread a day, and the Oda-Bashis and soldiers four, each loaf weighing about five ounces and of the value of three aspers; but the expense of this is not extraordinary, the Dey having his corn at reasonable rates or else from his own farms. So trifling is the whole revenue,

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and so insignificant are the particular shares of these mighty lords, these soldiers of Algiers!

The shipping which renders this place so famous to Christendom, so courted by some Powers and dreaded by others, has been for some years in a declining condition. The Algerines had formerly a greater number of renegades to command their vessels, who, as persons of greater courage, at least of more experience, would venture to attack such ships as the Turkish commanders nowadays are afraid to speak with. The Armadores likewise had greater encouragement for fitting out more cruisers, having generally the Dutch and sometimes either us or the French to supply them with prizes. They have now only five capital vessels from 40 to 50 guns, two of 20, two galleys, two brigantines, three *satias*, with a number of small boats which rarely appear but in summer. The Dey is building at present a vessel of 70 guns, and the Armadores three more of from 40 to 50 guns. The Dey arms out but one of the five great ships, and the two galleys; the rest are at the charge of private persons, who have in return one half of the prizes. The timbers of the greatest of these vessels are only equal to what are made use of in ours of 200 tons, their ribs are rarely above four or five inches square, and the planks hardly two inches in thickness. The Armadores confess that they do not build for strength and fighting, but for lightness and cruising, their business being to avoid every ship that has force to withstand them. I may observe further that these cruisers are rather full of men than well manned, for every person who pleases may ship himself aboard and will have his share of the prize, though he knows nothing of the sea and never discharged a musket. The greater ships have rarely above 150 Turks aboard, and the lesser in proportion, the rest of the company being Moors or Arabs. The Turks are for the most part very expert at small arms, and have been known to make a very good defence; but in boarding or attacking an enemy it is observed that if they do not carry it in their first assault, they will rarely venture upon a second. They are supplied with masts

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and cordage from Christendom, but their planks and timber are chiefly of their own, of oak, cut down in the woods of Bougia and Tedelles. These vessels make about three cruises a year, and are unfit for sea after the thirtieth. They generally make Cape de Gat outward bound, and are frequently to be met with about Cape Finisterre, or the Rock of Lisbon. The Mole, or harbour, had formerly no other defence but the round castle and the adjacent battery, the others being added by Aly and Mahomet, the two late Bashas. Here are neither mines nor outworks, yet an enemy would be very much incommoded in making a descent upon it by the two batteries of the Mole and Fishers' Gate which cover it. The work of them all is very firm and compact, and, as they say, bomb-proof, and might give some diversion to what fleet soever should lie before them, though perhaps they would be found too high and too much exposed to hold out against any vigorous opposition. The cannon are chiefly of brass, the lower range of 36 pounders or upwards, very well kept, and their carriages in exceeding good order. They are indebted to the Dutch for several of these fine pieces, though they have some very good ones from their own foundry, the bells they took at Oran furnishing them with a great part of the materials. This Mole had no communication with the city till after the time of the Emperor Charles V., yet from this small spot of ground the great and warlike city (as they style it) of Algiers took its name, Algazair (for so we should call it) signifying in their language, The Islands.

With relation to Christian Powers, this Government has alliance with us, the French and the Dutch; as for that with the Swedes it has been purchased at so extravagant a price, considering how little commerce that nation carries on in the way of these cruisers, that the wisest people of this Republic look upon it still as a mystery. Great application has been made by the Porte in behalf of the Emperor, yet all their intercession hitherto has been ineffectual, notwithstanding this State has always acknowledged itself under the protection and vassalage of the Grand Signor, and subject entirely

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to his orders and commands. The success the Dutch had after a twelve years' cruise in destroying a few of their ships, with the great present they promised the Government upon the ratification of a peace, together with the natural timorousness of the Dey, lest by further losses he should be reckoned unfortunate—a dangerous character here for a commander—were the chief and concurring reasons for their extending their friendship to that nation. It is very certain that the generality of the army, and the whole marine, were heartily against it, urging that it would be in vain to arm out their vessels when they had peace with the three trading nations, that their loss was inconsiderable when laid against the immense riches they had got by the war; concluding with a very expressive Arabian proverb, that 'Those ought never to sow who are afraid of the sparrows.' As the inferior, which is the major part of the soldiery, subsists chiefly by the share they get in prizes (for their pay will not maintain them in apparel), they begin already to murmur at the small success they have had since this late alliance, and it is very probable, if their vessels return a few cruises more empty-handed, that the Dey will be obliged to contract his alliances from that very principle which a little while ago engaged him to increase them. The Algerines have certainly a great esteem and friendship for us, and provided there is any security in a government guided by noise and humour more than by counsel and mature deliberation, it is very probable, whoever they think fit to quarrel with, that we have little to apprehend. The Dutch are very industrious in cultivating their friendship with presents, a method hitherto very prevalent and successful; while the French are continually giving out what execution they did here formerly with their bombs, and how they have lately reduced Tripoli to ashes. Yet if there is any prudence or conduct in making use of high words or menaces at Algiers it is very certain that we have as much interest in Sir Edward Spragg's expedition at Bugia as the French can have in that of the Marshal d'Estrées at Algiers, and notwithstanding all their rhetoric in behalf of Marseilles

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and Toulon, the Algerines are not to be persuaded but that Minorca and Gibraltar are in a more convenient situation for giving them disturbance.

But reason and argument will not always pass for good politics in a Government where the cook is first minister, and where an insolent soldiery have so great a command; and therefore in critical junctures the ground is to be maintained by a nice management and address of the consul, by knowing how to make proper application to the particular foibles of those who have the Dey's ear, by flattering one, placing confidence in another, and especially by making use of those invincible arguments, caftans and gold watches, for according to an old and infallible proverb and observation, 'Give a Turk money with one hand, and he will permit you to pull out his eyes with the other.'

This, my Lord, is the present state of Algiers; how long it may continue I dare not determine, for what little there is here of justice, honesty, or public faith, is rather from fear and compulsion than from choice and free election. For that acknowledgment is very just which Aly Bashaw (a late Dey) made to Consul Cole, complaining of the insults and robberies our merchant vessels met with from his cruisers: 'The Algerines,' says he, 'are a company of rogues, and I am their captain.'

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CHAPTER II.

EARLIEST RELATIONS WITH ALGIERS.

1540—1620.

WE know very little indeed of the relations between England and Algiers during the first century after the latter became an independent state; the Turks, freed from Spanish influence, were masters of the whole of North Africa excepting Morocco, and separate governments had their seats at Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. The immediate successor of Kheir-ed-din carried on his piratical depredations with even greater audacity than his master, and it was partly to protect the commerce of the Mediterranean, and partly in the hope of gaining increased glory, that Charles V. organised his ill-fated expedition against Algiers in 1541. He collected a force of 22,000 men, which he embarked on board eighteen galleys and one hundred vessels of various sizes, commanded by the famous Doria. His army contained the flower of Italian and Spanish chivalry, amongst others Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico, and a considerable number of the Knights of Malta, together with 3,000 volunteers of various nations.

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He landed to the east of Algiers, near the present Jardin d'Essai, marched on the city with little opposition, and planted his tent on the site of what now is, and what has been ever since, the 'Fort de l'Empereur.' Algiers was feebly garrisoned, but the elements fought on the side of its defenders; rain so torrential fell on shore, and so violent a tempest raged at sea, that the fleet was dispersed, most of the vessels were wrecked, and the army became completely demoralised. During its retreat to Cape Matifou it was pursued by the Turks, great numbers were killed, especially in crossing the Harrach, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the *débris* succeeded in re-embarking, the Emperor himself being the last to leave the shore.

Several Englishmen took part in this expedition, notably Sir Henry Knevet, ambassador from Henry VIII. to the Emperor, and 'his familiar friend' Sir Thomas Challoner, 'by birth a Londoner, by study a Cantabrigian, by education a courtier, and by religion a devout and true Christian.' Henry Knolles and Henry Isham, 'right trusty persons, of their own accord accompanied him and served him in that war.' We do not know what became of the others, but Challoner had a wonderful escape from drowning, and returned in safety to his native country.[1]

There was a large community of Jews at Algiers at this time living on terms of tolerable harmony with the Mohammedans, and united to them by the bond of a common hatred of the Spanish. They

[1] Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 99.

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viewed the approach of Charles V. with feelings approaching to consternation, believing that his success over the Turks would be the prelude to their own persecution. They assembled in their synagogues and supplicated the protection of Heaven for themselves and the city of their adoption. When the Christian host was defeated, they instituted a solemn feast preceded by a day of fasting, which has been observed in Algiers ever since. It occurs on the 3rd and 4th of the month Hashvan (October–November), when they recite poems composed by several of their most celebrated Rabbis, commemorating the destruction of the Emperor's Armada.

The first English consuls at Algiers were rather representatives of important commercial corporations, or elected by the merchants themselves from among their own number, than nominated directly by the State. Master John Tipton was acting in this capacity, on account of the Turkey Company, at least as early as 1580. In February 1583 he wrote to Mr. William Harebone, H.M. Ambassador in Constantinople, acknowledging his letter of November 5, 1582, in which he had enclosed a communication to the Viceroy of Algiers begging him to respect the Grand Signor's charter and to give orders that his captains should not molest English vessels at sea. The Pasha replied to Tipton that he would neither give such orders nor issue a safe conduct to any English vessels, on the contrary he trusted to take some of them that year. The officers of the Court

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declared that they would do all in their power 'by policy or one means or other to provoke them to shoot some ordnance, which if they do but one piece, the peace is broken and they be good prizes.' The writer was in despair at the dangers threatening vessels of his country on every side; he saw no chance of their escaping from the galleys of Carthagena, Florence, Sicily and Malta on the one hand, and from the Barbary corsairs on the other. If specific orders were not issued for their protection by the Sultan, and sent 'by one of your gentlemen accompanied by a *chaus* of the Court, it is impossible that English ships can escape freely from these or the Christians. And if your honour cannot obtain this thing, I beseech your honour, in behalf of all the *Christian merchants who sent me hither* (*to follow such order as your honour should give me*), to certify Her Majesty, to the end that they may be commanded to leave off traffic and not to lose their goods and her poor subjects the mariners.'

The ambassador responded to this appeal by sending Mr. Edward Barton, together with a Turkish *chaouch*, 'with three commandments in Turkish, and a copy in English, to the end that our ships come not in danger of breach of league if they should shoot at the galleys of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli.' He was ordered to show them to the Pasha, procure their registration by the Cadi, and then to hand them to Mr. Tipton, who was to require in the Grand Signor's name that they would allow English vessels to pass to and fro under safe conduct.

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Mr. Tipton had been acting for some time as consul for the Turkish Company, but now, to give him greater authority both with his own countrymen and the Turks, the ambassador sent him a regular commission dated March 30, 1585, with the Sultan's exequatur, 'appointing you consul of the English nation in Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli in Barbary, and to the end you may boldly proceed herein, as also for the good opinion *Sir Edward Osborn and the Company have of you*, and I, no less persuaded of your wisdom, upright dealing and good experience in these parts, do send you herewith the Grand Signor's and our patents for exercising the office of consul there, by virtue of which authority you may without fear proceed as the office doth challenge, in defence of our privilege, to redress all injuries offered to our nation.'

The ambassador had appointed consuls two years previously in Egypt, Aleppo and Tripoli in Syria, but Tipton was acting before any of them, and there is every reason to believe that he is the oldest known consul of English birth. He certainly was the first ever appointed at Algiers; the *échevins* of Marseilles tried to send one in 1576, but Ramdan Pasha refused to receive him, and the first French consul who actually resided there was Monsieur Bionneau in 1581.

About the time that Tipton received his appointment, the Pasha's Eunuch and Treasurer was an English renegade, 'Assan Agha, sonne of Fran. Rowlie of Bristow, merchant, taken in the *Swallow*, Mr. Harebone on June 25, 1586, acknowledged his

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letter 'received of Will. Hamor, gentleman, my servant, very thankfully, as well for the fervent faith that by his report I hear you have in our Lord Jesus Christ, by whose only merits and blood-shedding you together with us and other good Christians shall be saved, and also for your faithful obedience like a true subject of Her Majesty, naturally loving your country and your countrymen, declared in your favourable furtherance of the said Will. Hamor, procuring their redemption.' The ambassador ends his letter by threatening the Algerines with the high displeasure of the Sultan if they fail to treat English subjects with justice and clemency.

Tipton is mentioned on several occasions in the correspondence of the period, and in various letters given by Hakluyt. Mr. Laurence Aldersey, returning from Egypt in 1586, called at Algiers, 'where,' says he, 'I lay with Master Typton, consull of the English nation, who used me most kindly, and at his own charge; he brought me to the King's Court, and into the presence of the King, to see him and the manners of the Court. The King doth only bear the name of a King, but the greatest government is in the hands of the soldiers.'

At this time it was unsafe for a Christian to lodge in the Mohammedan quarter of the town; 'the surest lodging here is in a Jew's house, for if he have any hurt, the Jew and his goods shall make it good. So the Jew taketh great care of the Christian and his goods that lieth in his house for fear of punishment. An Englishman called Thomas Williams, which is

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Master John Tipton's man, lieth about trade of merchandise in the street called the *Soca* of the Jews,' and here he was in the habit of dispensing hospitality to his countrymen.[1]

As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century the Algerine corsairs had commenced to prey on the commerce of England, and to enslave all English or Scottish subjects on whom they could lay their hands. Amongst many others, the Master of Oliphant and the Master of Morton fell into their power, and must have remained a considerable time in captivity, as in 1582 Robert Oliphant petitions Queen Elizabeth to aid him in fitting out an expedition for their relief, and in 1589 they were still captives, as Sir James Hudson writes to Sir Francis Walsyngham recommending the desire of the Scottish Ambassador to obtain information regarding them. Bishop Grindall in 1537 begs Cecil to allow collections to be made for the ransom of captive Englishmen, and in 1583 a safe conduct was granted by Elizabeth to Edmund Auncell, Richard Thomson and others, for a ship named the *Unity* going to Algiers to redeem them.

The first letter on record from a ruler of Algiers to a sovereign of England is one written by Suleiman Bey to Elizabeth, on December 20, 1600. He expresses himself very desirous to carry out the Sultan's orders that British subjects coming to trade in the country should receive all the favour and assistance they might require; he states that he has actually done this in the case of one Captain Griffon,

[1] Hakluyt, vol. ii.

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who had brought in a prize which belonged to their mutual enemies, the Spaniards, and from whom he had only exacted one-eighth of the value as his share, instead of one-seventh to which he was entitled, as customs dues. But he complains of the behaviour of certain other persons calling themselves Englishmen, Samuel Bent and Captain Bucolli, who had brought in as prize a Venetian vessel laden with wool and brazil wood, and had landed the captain and crew at the island of Majorca, alleging them to be Spaniards.

A few days after, the captain turned up; he proved to be a Venetian, Vincenzo da Martino by name, and he gave a very different account of the affair. He stated that when near Menorca he met the two English vessels, and approached them in all good faith, having lowered his flag of St. Mark. The captain and crew boarded him and took possession of his vessel and cargo, which was of great value, for, beside the wool and brazil wood, she had on board forty pounds of grey amber, and a large quantity of pearls, diamonds, rubies, and balsam, with more than 60,000 scudi, besides 4,000 scudis in gold. The Bey was indignant at the conduct of the pirates in daring to lay hands on a vessel belonging to a State at peace both with England and Turkey; perhaps the loss of his eighth part of the treasure had some influence with him. He lent a favourable ear to Captain Vincenzo's demand for justice, and ordered that both the vessel and her cargo should be delivered up to him. He directed the English captain and 'John

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Audellay, who says he is Your Majesty's consul here,' to deliver up the latter, and he put a guard of Turks on board the vessel. On Friday (December 15, 1600), at midday, when all the Mohammedans were at public prayer in the mosque, they set fire to the ship, to the great danger of all the vessels in the harbour. This criminal act created such scandal and indignation in the city that the Bey had the greatest difficulty in preventing the soldiery from rising and maltreating the captains and their men; but the respect and consideration he entertained for Her Majesty made him forego such punishment, and determined him to lay the case before Her Majesty, begging her to do justice and make an example, and especially that it might please her 'to advise the consul here to take care not to help or allow your subjects to treat in this fashion Your Majesty's friends and allies.'

The first communication addressed by the British Government to a consul that can be traced is a letter dated April 29, 1602, from the Lord High Admiral of England 'to the Consul of Argeir,' stating that many and great complaints were daily made by Her Majesty's subjects of their hard and unjust usage by the King of Algiers whenever they repaired to his port either for relief or trade, and the consul, 'being a publique minister there for our nation,' is directed to use all his influence to obtain redress. One case is especially brought to his notice: the ship *Marigold*, whereof Leigh was captain, was wrongly detained, and forty chests of indigo, to the value of 1,750*l.*, were taken

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ALGIERS IN 1579.

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out of her, without any form of justice, on the mere suggestion of the French consul that some of his master's subjects were interested therein. On the return of the vessel to England, certain Dutchmen claimed to be owners of the goods, and sued the master for restitution of their property. The Queen fully believes that when the King of Algiers comes to know all the circumstances of the case, he will cause justice to be done; but otherwise, the consul is instructed to let him know plainly that Her Majesty, out of her princely resolution to protect all her oppressed subjects, is determined to acquaint the Grand Signor with it, through her ambassador at his Court, and she doubts not, by former experience, to receive justice and princely dealing at his hands.

The Queen once more addresses the Bey of Algiers, on October 6 of the same year, stating that she is forced to write again owing to the daily complaints of the injury and injustice done to her subjects. After remarking on the intimate friendship between herself and the Bey's superior, the Sultan, and his own disorderly and unjust conduct, she says that she is quite sure that if she had applied at once to the Sultan she would have obtained entire redress, but she thought it better to let the Bey himself know by letter that he must deal with her subjects in a more friendly and just way, and make entire restitution for all the losses they had suffered, and not commit such injustice again. The Queen has instructed her consul to render a detailed account of all these losses. She complains

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of the Bey's pretension that Spanish goods taken under the French flag are not legitimate prize, a favour not demanded by the French King himself; that he shows too much friendship for their mutual enemies the Spanish, and treats them better than her own subjects, and that he has taken upon himself to seize the goods and persons of some of her subjects, in direct violation of treaties existing between her and the Sultan. The Queen has instructed her consul to ask for satisfaction, which the Bey must grant, if he does not wish to force the Queen to apply with greater asperity to a higher authority, or to forbid her subjects from holding any further intercourse with the Port of Algiers.

The first embassy from Algiers to England, if such it may be called, took place about this period. The envoyé was a Bulluk-Bashi, and his credentials bear the seal and signature of the Bey, the Minister of Marine, the Agha, or commander of the land forces, the captain of the port, the captain of a vessel, and the English consul. The ambassador is authorised 'to goe and passe for England, to shewe your Highnes such playe and pastime as he and his company ar able to shewe, in token of good will and fryndshippe that we owe unto you and your country, and soe all we, the governors of Argier, doe render greatte reverence unto your Highnes.'

Between 1609 and 1616 the Algerine navy, which consisted of about 100 vessels, had captured 466 British ships, all the crews of which were reduced to slavery; in the later year Sir Francis

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Cottingham, H.M. Ambassador in Spain, writing to the Duke of Buckingham, says:—'The strength and boldness of the Barbary pirates is now grown to that height, both in the ocean and the Mediterranean sea, as I have never known anything to have wrought a greater sadness and distraction in this Court than the daily advice thereof. Their fleet is divided into two squadrons; one of eighteen sail remaining before Malaga, in sight of the city; the other before the Cape of Santa Maria, which is between Lisbon and Seville. . . . They took there divers ships, and among them three or four from the west of England. Two big English ships they drove ashore not four leagues from Malaga, and after that they got on shore also and burnt them, and to this day they remain before Malaga absolutely preventing all trade with those parts of Spain. The other squadron lately met with seven sail of English ships, but laden only with pipe-staves. Five of these they took and the two others escaped; they robbed them only of their victuals, their ordnance, and of some sails, and so let them go.'

Grievous complaints came from Algiers itself; amongst others Richard Doves, master of the *Bonaventura*, addressed a petition to His Majesty, which was signed by fourteen other English captains, 'who, having made a long, bloody and dangerous fight with the Turks, and slain many of them, were at last taken and captured.' Doves lost 1,000*l.*, and their ransom was set down at 1,000*l.* more, he therefore craved the King's favour to collect charity from certain

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companies of merchants. We do not know the result of this appeal, but we find in the Court minutes of the East India Company that 40*l.* was granted by them on his petition in 1619.

Another encounter terminated more fortunately. In 1621 the *Jacob* of Bristol was met by the Algerines at the entrance to the Straits of Gibraltar, and after a desperate resistance it was overpowered. The victors took all the crew out of her except four youths, John Cooke, William Long, David Jones and Robert Tuckey, and they put thirteen of their own people on board to take the prize to Algiers.

These poor lads sailed five days and nights under command of the pirates; on the fifth the wind began to rise, and the Turks had to apply to their prisoners for assistance to enable them to take in sail. One of them, seizing a favourable opportunity, threw the captain overboard; the others attacked the remainder bravely with such arms as they could find, killing two, throwing two more into the sea, and driving the rest below, where they were safely secured. The four boys then managed to take the ship into St. Lucas in Spain, where they sold the Turks for a good sum of money as galley-slaves.[1]

[1] Purchas, vol. ii. p. 887.

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CHAPTER III.

EXPEDITION OF SIR ROBERT MANSEL—MISSION OF SIR THOMAS ROE —CONSULATE OF MR. JAMES FRIZELL.

1620—1630.

JAMES I., on the urgent petition of the Turkey Company, determined to make a serious effort to put a stop to this state of things, and Admiral Sir William Monson was called upon by the Lords of the Council to give his opinion as to how the Algerines might best be suppressed. He made a report in great detail, stating his opinion that it could not be done by one fleet, or in a single campaign, but that it was likely rather to be the work of years, and that all the maritime powers of Europe should contribute towards the expense, *and participate in the gains by the sale of Moors and Turks as slaves.*

It seems certain that during the reign of James I. there was a party at Court anxious not only to take Algiers, but to keep it when taken. Count Gondemar employed his whole influence to this end, and he was backed by the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord High Admiral of England, and subsequently by the Duke of Buckingham, who succeeded him in that office.

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The belief in the invincible strength of the Algerines was as general as it was unfounded; the commissioners for Spanish business informed the King that the pirates flock to Algiers, but the surprising of that place is impossible. Experienced captains think the only mode would be to treat with foreign princes to join in maintaining forces for their gradual suppression. The assistance of Spain would be especially necessary, because, its ports being nearest to Algiers, are most convenient for re-victualling.

James, however, determined to carry out the expedition himself; it was the only warlike undertaking of his reign, and the fleet which he sent against Algiers was the first English naval force that ever entered the Mediterranean, at least since the Crusades.[1] It was commanded by Sir Robert Mansel, Vice-Admiral of England, and consisted of 18 ships, of which 6 belonged to the King, 10 were hired from merchants, and 2 were pinnaces. They were as follows:—

1. The *Lyon*, flagship of Sir Robert Mansel, 600 tons, 250 men, 40 brass guns.

2. The *Vantguard*, flagship of Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Hawkins, 660 tons, 250 men, 40 brass guns.

3. The *Rainbow*, flagship of Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Button, 660 tons, 250 men, 40 brass guns.

4. The *Constant Reformation*, Captain Arthur Mainwaring, 660 tons, 250 men, 40 brass guns.

5. The *Antelope*, Sir Henry Palmer captain, 400 tons, 160 men, 34 brass guns.

[1] The Turkey Company contributed the sum of 20,000*l.* towards the expenses.

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6. The *Convertine*, Thomas Love captain, 500 tons, 220 men, 36 brass guns.

7. The pinnace *Mercury*, Phineas Pitt captain, 240 tons, 55 men, 18 guns.

8. The pinnace *Spy*, Edward Gyles captain, 160 tons, 55 men, 18 guns.

In all 3,880 tons, 1,500 men, and 268 brass guns.

Besides 12 merchant ships aggregating 2,790 tons, 1,170 men, and 243 iron guns.

The squadron sailed from Plymouth on October 12, 1620, touched at Gibraltar on the 31st, and anchored off Algiers on November 27. On arrival, the whole fleet saluted the town, but no answer was vouchsafed. It was then blowing too hard to be able to communicate with the shore, but on the following day the Admiral sent Captain Squibb with a flag of truce to inform the Pasha of the reason of his coming. The latter sent off to say that the Grand Signor had charged him to use the English with all respect, and he gave him permission to purchase fresh provisions or whatever else he might require. He also said that if on the morrow the Admiral would send a person of quality on shore with the King's letters, hostages would be sent on board for his safety. That night the pirates brought in three prizes, of which two were English—one from Plymouth, and the other from North Yarmouth.

On the 29th, Captain John Roper and several other officers were sent on shore in the Admiral's barge to press for the speedy reception of and an answer to the King's letter, as the fleet was in danger owing to the

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insecurity of the anchorage. A reply was returned from the Pasha that the letter could not be opened except in presence of the Divan, and that that body could not be assembled before the Saturday following.

The English captives on shore were now put on board ship as a measure of precaution, but the Admiral protested against any of them being sent out of the place until his mission should be terminated. This point was conceded.

Mr. Nicholas Leatt was a London merchant, Deputy of the Turkey Company, with a branch house at Algiers, which had been alternately managed by himself and his factor, Mr. James Frizell; the latter person had accompanied the expedition as interpreter and general adviser, and he was now, at the Pasha's request, sent on shore to expedite matters; two hostages were delivered to answer for his safety. On the day appointed, Saturday, December 1, Captain Roper landed, and two more hostages were sent for him. He was instructed to demand in His Majesty's name: first, that restitution be made for 150 ships taken by the Algerines during the past six years; secondly, that the 'pyratts and their armadores who ar the harbourers might bee by them cutt of by the swoarde of justice, or handed over to the Admiral to receave condigne punishment;' thirdly, that all English vessels then in harbour, with their cargoes, be delivered up; and, lastly, that all His Majesty's subjects, whether slaves, renegades, boys, or freemen, might be sent on board the flagship.

Captains Roper and Squibb and Mr. Frizell had

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an audience of the Pasha; he declined to receive the King's letter, but promised to have it publicly read at a Divan in the afternoon; an excuse was subsequently made for not receiving it then, and the ceremony was deferred till the following morning. In the mean time the Pasha, in breach of his solemn promise, had sent the vessels with the English captives out to sea, having previously had many of these unfortunates cruelly beaten so as to force them to go quietly on board.

On Sunday morning, the Pasha and the whole body of the Divan being assembled, Captain Roper delivered the King's letters with translations in Turkish, Italian and Latin. The Pasha read the Turkish copy privately, but did not communicate its contents to the Divan, and he demanded if Captain Roper had any letter of recommendation from the Grand Signor; he was forced to reply in the negative, whereupon the Pasha declared that, without the Sultan's permission, he could not allow His Majesty's letters to be communicated to the Divan. Several members begged to know what the English demands were, and when Captain Roper commenced to make them known, the Pasha interrupted him, saying that it was so long since the ships had been taken that many of them were sunk in the sea, others sold, many of the men were dead, and the cargoes were consumed; but that, if anything remained, it should be delivered up. He then began to make a series of counter-claims on the English; he alleged that an English vessel had taken on board a number of

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Turkish and Moorish pilgrims at Alexandria, bound for Algiers; some they had put on shore on a desert island, where they perished of cold and hunger, and some they had sold as slaves at Malta.

Another ship came to Algiers, and, according to custom, the Consul Richard Alline and Mr. William Garrat went on board with an Algerine officer to search it; they drowned the officer, and the consul escaped in the vessel to Bougia, another port on the Algerine coast, where the captain of the castle, two of his sons, and sundry other Mohammedans were enticed on board, carried off and sold as slaves at Leghorn. Another ship, carrying Turks and Moors to Tetuan, had changed its course for Alicante, and had there sold them as slaves.

That as for them they had taken little but pilchard fish and other small matters from the English, and he begged that one act might be set off against the other. Captain Roper objected that the authors of the deeds before detailed were persons beyond the King's jurisdiction, and that no complaint had ever been made to His Majesty on the subject. At last the Pasha, rising from his seat, caused silence to be proclaimed, and 'made an oration to the Divan to this effect'—

That regarding the losses on both sides, one should be set off against the other.

That such ships and goods as were then in the place should be delivered up.

That proclamation should be made that any one having English slaves or boys should bring them in;

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the captives were to be delivered up at once, and the boys were to be examined; such as were found to be Christians should be sent on board, and such as had turned Turks and wished to go, should also be delivered up. This was unanimously agreed to, and proclamation was made accordingly.

On Monday the 4th the Pasha caused a second proclamation to be made, but of the many hundred English captives known to be in the place, only eighteen were brought in and delivered to Captain Roper, and temporarily lodged by him in the English house.

On the following day the Pasha and Divan sent for Captain Roper and Mr. Frizell, and earnestly begged that a consul might be appointed to remain amongst them. The admiral replied that he had no authority to do so, nor any experienced person in the fleet, which consisted only of soldiers and sailors, but if they would accept of Mr. Frizell, he might remain with them. This did not satisfy the Divan; a great tumult arose, the captives were again taken away and lodged in prison, the gates of the town were shut, and a guard was placed over Mr. Frizell's house, where he and Captain Roper were. The admiral, rather than allow those gentlemen to remain in durance, agreed to send 'one Foard, an ordinarie saylor,' or, as he is styled in another account, 'a common man well cloathed by the name of a consull.' He was well received by the Pasha and the Divan. Captain Roper and Mr. Frizell were permitted to embark, taking with them the few slaves that had been delivered up, and leaving Ford to

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solicit the delivery of the rest as they should be found. It was soon apparent that the Turks did not intend to make any further concessions; so, in accordance with the resolution taken at a council of war, the admiral set sail on Friday, December 8.

On May 21, 1621, the squadron again went to Algiers and took up a position in line facing the town. Two ships were detailed to go into the harbour, make fast to the pirate vessels, and then set themselves on fire; but on further consideration, the operation 'was deferred for that time till a fitter opportunity was offered.' Nothing further was attempted. Sir William Monson says:[1] 'Such was the misgovernment of those ships, and the negligence and vainglorious humours of some to feast and banquet in harbour, when their duty was to scour the seas, that they lost the opportunity which offered itself of destroying those hellish pirates. Beside their going and coming they spent not twenty days at sea, whilst they continued in the streights, and retired into harbour where the pirates might find them, but not they the pirates.'

Mr. Secretary Burchell records that no sooner was Sir Robert Mansel's back turned than the Algerine corsairs captured forty sail of British shipping and infested the Spanish coast with more fury than ever. Although at this time the naval force of England was in its infancy, there was a large and important trade between Great Britain and the Mediterranean, in spite of the terms on which we

[1] *Naval Tracts.*

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stood with the Barbary corsairs, who then kept in a state of defiance with all the States of Europe except the Dutch.

Sir Thomas Roe, on his way out to the embassy at Constantinople, writes from Messina, to the Marquis of Buckingham, High Admiral of England, on December $\frac{7}{17}$, 1621, that if the increase of the Algerine pirates be not checked 'they will brave the armies of kings at sea, and in a few years attempt even the coasts and shores with peril.' The unfortunate consul who had been left by Sir R. Mansel petitions His Majesty to consider the distressed and miserable state of Englishmen in Algiers who had lately been made slaves. Some, he says, were compelled to go to sea, others to the galleys, and the boys were forced to become renegades, so that unless some steps were taken, either by war or peace, there would soon be 1,000 English slaves there. On their last cruise the corsairs went to the coast of England and Ireland and took forty-nine sail of English ships; some they burnt, some they sunk, some they sent to other parts in Barbary, and some were brought to Algiers. The actual number of captives brought to the last named place amounted to 400. Mr. Ford adds: 'They say that unless you send speedily, they will go to England and fetch men out of their beds as they commonly used to do in Spain.' In another letter he says that thirty more English vessels have been taken but had not yet reached Algiers.

In consequence of these representations, and at the

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urgent solicitation of the Turkey Company, which had the monopoly of trade with Algiers and Tunis, Sir Thomas Roe, one of the most distinguished statesmen that ever represented England in Turkey, was instructed to call at Algiers on his way to Constantinople in March 1622. He then concluded a treaty of which the following were the chief heads:—Trade with Algiers was to be encouraged in order that the Turks might obtain profit from this source and not depend entirely on piracy; satisfaction was to be made for the injury inflicted on them by Sir Robert Mansel, and especially for seventeen Algerines sold by him into slavery in Spain; the enemies of the Regency were not to be supplied with warlike stores by England, and a consul was to be maintained at Algiers to watch over the fulfilment of the treaty.

What became of Ford we do not know, perhaps he returned to his original obscurity; his successor was the same James Frizell who had long acted as agent to Mr. Leatt, and who had accompanied Sir Robert Mansel in his first expedition.

The Utopian nature of this treaty was soon apparent. The Algerines did not take at all kindly to legitimate commerce; indeed, they had little to sell save the proceeds of their piracies. Frizell had to make large presents to the Divan amounting to 2,905*l.*, nearly half of which was paid out of his own pocket, and very soon after the Company almost entirely suspended its operations on the Barbary coast, and neglected the consulates which were at their charge. Mr. Leatt, in London, warmly sup-

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ported Mr. Frizell's representations regarding the unhappy captives, and urged upon His Majesty the absolute necessity of taking immediate steps for their redemption; they were not less than 1,000 in number, and more than 400 British vessels had been taken during the last few years. Many thousand merchants and mariners had been slain or made captives, or had died of plague and penury, while not a few had abjured their faith in utter despair. Their wives and children were in a desperate and miserable condition at home, crying at the exchange and at his house, and unless relieved they would follow the King wherever he might go, and trouble His Majesty with their complaints.

Frizell was by no means idle at Algiers; up to February 1624 he had purchased the freedom of 240 persons, at a cost of 1,800*l*., but he had to raise the money on behalf of the Turkey Company at exorbitant interest, and he feared that if he were not speedily repaid he would be ruined.

The subject was laid before Parliament, and it was ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal that letters patent be granted for a collection throughout the whole kingdom for the redemption of these miserable captives, the letters to be addressed to the bishops, who were to cause them to be distributed to every parish in their dioceses. By way of example the Lords made a collection in their own House; every one above the degree of a Baron subscribed 40*s*. and all below that dignity 20*s*. each. Absent peers were not exempted, the holders of their

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proxies had to pay for them. The total sum thus collected amounted only to 2,848*l.*[1]

The Turks were no less eager that the English slaves should be ransomed, and an ambassador was sent to England with presents of horses, lions, &c.; he presented his letters of credence to the King on April 23, 1625, and for nine months he was hospitably entertained at the cost of the Turkey Company; he eventually left much discontented, because the only presents given him were by merchants, and he received no substantial mark of the King's favour. Both Mr. Leatt and the High Admiral deplored this policy, and suggested that at least a ring to the value of 500*l.* should be presented by His Majesty, but this advice was not taken, and shortly after the ambassador's return, the Pasha, under the pretence that his people were robbed by the English at sea, and their captives taken from them contrary to treaty, imprisoned the consul and all the English residents in Algiers, and forcibly took from them property to the value of 6,000*l.* During the two following years the same state of things continued; British vessels took Algerine corsairs at sea, and the consul was in daily risk of losing his life on shore; yet during all these five years he managed to maintain a sort of peace between the two countries, and released and maintained many British captives at his own and at Mr. Leatt's expense. At last he could bear it no longer; he sent an urgent petition to Government, stating that he was endeavouring to do his duty like a true subject, but at

[1] *Lords' Journals*, vol. iii. p. 413.

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the daily hazard of his life; he was threatened on the one hand by the Turks, and abused on the other by the British captives, and he begged that a new consul might be sent, as the business was too weighty for him, and the charges above his means; that Mr. Leatt and others might be repaid the heavy outlay they had incurred; that the merchants should be refunded the 6,000*l.* taken from them; and, lastly, he begs that his long service and many sufferings might be taken into account, and the money spent by him be refunded, for he had never received a penny as remuneration, but had subsisted himself on his own means, and by the trade of Mr. Leatt, his master.

His prayer does not seem to have been granted, as in 1632 we again find him addressing a petition to the Privy Council, stating that 340 British captives, mostly taken out of British vessels, that had subsequently been sunk at sea, but including amongst their number eighty-nine women and children taken from Baltimore in Ireland, had lately been brought in. The settlement made by Sir Thomas Roe he represents as having completely fallen into decay, and he complains bitterly of the neglect of the Turkey Company which had not paid him a penny of his salary for eight years. He implores their lordships to commiserate the miserable condition of himself and the poor distressed captives, and to pay what was due to him that he might be released from thraldom and enabled to return to his country.

This petition was read at the Privy Council on March 9, 1632. Their lordships were moved with

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compassion at the extreme affliction and miserable condition of His Majesty's subjects in captivity. They passed an order that Mr. Secretary Coke, assisted by Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Kenelm Digby, and Sir Paul Pindor, should treat with the Levant Company for their redemption. No result, however, followed, as the consul continued to petition the King direct, on his own behalf and on that of 800 of His Majesty's subjects then slaves in Algiers, who had long hoped for redemption from this miserable bondage, but who had not as yet received any fruits of His Majesty's intended clemency towards them.

We know nothing of the ultimate fate of this unfortunate official. The last despatch which he wrote bears date October 18, 1637; he takes the opportunity of a vessel going to Valencia to draw, once more, the attention of the Secretary of State to the miserable and distressed life which he and the King's subjects had been living ever since 1625; their lives had been in constant danger, and he himself was brought so low, from want of means to maintain his charge, that he was likely to starve unless the Lord in His mercy should raise some unexpected succour for him. 'I doe verely beleive,' says he, 'that never any of His Majesty's Ministers hath bin soe neglected as I am.' He prays the Secretary to consider what damage the land has sustained by neglecting the affairs of Algiers, how 'it anoyeth all Christendome,' and he prays that God in His mercy may in due time order all for the best. He still, however, continued to drag out his wretched

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life at Algiers for some years longer, for as late as July 5, 1643, a letter was written by both Houses of Parliament 'to the Grand Bashaw of Argier, likewise to the Council of State and War,' and instructions were prepared for Mr. Lewes Hodges, the bearer, a merchant of London, and for 'Mr. James Frizell, *residing as consul at Argier*,' touching the redemption of thousands of poor English captives remaining there in cruel slavery.

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CHAPTER IV.

SACK OF BALTIMORE—STORY OF REV. DEVEREUX SPRATT—WILLIAM OKELEY—GYLES PARKE—ACT FOR THE RELIEF OF CAPTIVES.

1631—1641.

CONSUL FRIZELL, in his petition before mentioned, alludes to the sack of Baltimore. Père Dan,[1] who saw the victims at Algiers, mentions the extraordinary boldness of the Barbary corsairs, how one actually ravaged the shores of Iceland, and then he continues :—

But not to go so far, in the year 1631 Murad Reis, a Flemish renegade, went to England, and thence to Ireland, where, having arrived during the night, he landed with about 200 men at a little village called Baltimore, having previously surprised several fishermen belonging to the place. He carried off 237 persons, men, women, and children, even those in the cradle. That done he brought them to Algiers, where it was pitiable to see them exposed for sale; for then they separated wives from their husbands, and infants from their fathers. They sold the husband to one and the wife to another, tearing the daughter from her arms, without any hope of ever seeing her again. I heard all this at Algiers from several of these slaves, who assured me that no Christian could witness what took place without melting

[1] *Histoire de Barbarie*, p. 313. Paris, 1649.

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into tears, to see so many honest girls and so many well brought up women abandoned to the brutality of these barbarians.

This raid took place on June 31, 1631. One of the fishermen who piloted the corsairs in was a Dungarvan man named Flachet, who was afterwards executed for his share in it. Baltimore was at that time a thriving place, the pilchard fishery alone realising 20,000*l.* a year, but it never recovered its importance, and is now a miserable little village, crowned by the ruins of The O'Driscoll's castle.

It is said that two vessels of war stationed at Kingsale received timely notice of the attack, but did nothing to prevent it; stringent measures were, however, taken to prevent a repetition of the disaster, and beacons were set up on all the headlands and eminences round about.

Père Dan states that the number of Christian slaves at this time in the Barbary states was prodigious; at Algiers alone there were not less than 25,000, and of renegades there were 8,000, of whom 1,000 or 1,200 were women.

The public archives of the time are full of petitions from captives. William Ayles writes to his loving wife (January 19, 1632) to say that his vessel was taken after a stout resistance, during which four of the crew were killed; he himself was sold to a captain of the galleys for 35*l.* Another is from sixty-two poor captives praying His Majesty to lend a helping hand with their ransom, which was 50*l.* a head. This was read at a court at Greenwich, when

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it was decided that as letters patent had already been issued to make a collection for redeeming these and other slaves, double letters could not be issued. A third is from the crews of the *George*, *Charles*, and *Lydia* of London, in behalf of themselves and many thousands more of His Majesty's subjects, in miserable slavery, being like to faint for want of bread.

The affair of Baltimore was by no means a solitary instance of the audacity of the Algerine corsairs on the coasts of England. Edmund Rossingham, in a newsletter addressed to Edward, Viscount Conway, on July 4, 1640, states: 'Those roguish pirates which lie upon the western coast have taken from the shore about Penzance, near St. Michael's Mount, sixty men, women, and children. This was in the night, for in the day these rogues keep out of sight for fear of the King's ships.' And again on June 19, 1640, the Mayor of Plymouth reports that three Turkish men-of-war had been encountered near the Lizard, who boarded the *Elizabeth*, killed some of her crew, and fired the ship. Many small vessels also had been pillaged by them, while the Deputy-Lieutenant of Cornwall stated that there were at least sixty pirate vessels on the coast, and the fishermen were afraid to put to sea.

The merchants and shipowners of Exeter, Plymouth, Barnstaple, Dartmouth and other places, in a petition to the Lords of the Council, dated September 2, 1636, stated that the pirates had become so numerous and terrible in their ships, and so well piloted into the Channel by English and Irish

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captives, that they dared not send their vessels to sea, seamen refused to go, and fishermen refrained from taking fish. A few years later the number of slaves had greatly increased, as appears by a petition, dated October 3, 1640, to His Majesty, stating that at that time there were no less than 3,000 poor English 'in miserable captivity, undergoing divers and most insufferable labour, such as rowing in galleys, drawing carts, grinding in mills, with divers such unchristian-like works most lamentable to express, and most burdensome to undergo, withal suffering much hunger and many blows on their bare bodies, by which cruelty many, not being able to undergo it, have been forced to turn Mohammedans.'

Their friends in England were equally clamorous. 'Many poor women' petitioned the King on behalf of their husbands, sons, and friends. The matter was referred to a commission, which reported its opinion that 4,000*l.* would hardly effect the ransom of all, and that such a sum could not possibly be collected either by brief or by any other way of charity. They thought it unwise to effect this work by money, as it would only encourage the enemy and make him more eager in the chase. The only sure and effectual means of bringing the Algerines to reason would be 'by withdrawing the trade for a time, by withdrawing your Majesty's Ambassador (to the Porte), and by granting letters of mark to all your Majesty's subjects.'

One very interesting capture made about this time was that of the Reverend Devereux Spratt. He

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was in Ireland during the great Rebellion of 1641, and was besieged during several months at Ballybeg, where he 'preached to the poor stript Protestants there;' at last reaching Cork he obtained from Lord Inchiquin a pass for England. The remainder of his story I give in his own words:[1]—

I embarked in one John Filmer's vessel, which sayled with about six score passengers, but before wee were out of sight of land wee were all taken by an Algire piratt, who put the men in chains and stockes. This thing was soe greivous that I began to question Providence, and accused Him of injustice in His dealings with me, until ye Lord made it appear otherwise by ensueing mercye: upon my arrivall in Algires I found pious Christians, which changed my former thoughts of God, which was that He dealt more hard with me than with other of His servents. God was pleased to guide for me, and those relations of mine taken with me, in a providentiall ordering of civil patrons for us, who gave me more liberty than ordinary, especially to me, who preached the Gospel to my poor countrymen, amongst whom it pleased God to make me an instrument of much good. I had not stayed long there, but I was like to be freed by one Captaine Wilde, a pious Christian, but on a sudden I was sould and delivered to a Mussleman dwelling with his family in ye towne, upon which change and sudden disappointment I was very sad; my patron asked me the reason, and withall uttered those comfortable words, 'God is great!' which took such impression as strengthened my faith in God, considering thus with myself, 'Shall this Turkish Mahumitan teach me, who ame a Christian, my duty of faith and dependence upon God?

After this a bond of 1,000*l*., preserved in my pockett at

[1] His journal is in the possession of his descendant, Admiral Spratt, R.N., and part of it has been published in that distinguished officer's *Travels and Researches in Crete*.

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sea, where all else was lost, was now like to be lost, the chest wherein it lay being broken up by theives.

After this God stirred up ye heart of Captaine Wilde to be an active instrument for me at Leagourno in Ittaly, amongst the merchants there, to contribute liberally towards my randsome, especially a Mr. John Collier. After the captaine returned to Algires, he paid my randsome, which amounted to 200 cobs. Upon this a petition was presented by the English captives for my staying among them; y^t^ he showed me, and asked what I would do in ye case. I tould him he was an instrument under God of my liberty, and I would be at his disposeing. He answered noe, I was a free man, and should be at my own disposeing. Then I replyed, 'I will stay,' considereing that I might be more servisable to my country by my continuing in enduring afflictions with the people of God than to enjoy liberty at home.

Two years afterwards a proclamation ishued that all free men must be gone. I then gott my free card, which cost fifty cobs, and departed with several of my countrymen to Provence, where I found the English merchants very civil to me. At T—— I embarked in a vessell bound to London. Wee touched at Malaga, where I went ashore to refresh myselfe. From thence wee put to sea againe; and comeing upon ye coast of Cornewall, the Vice-Admirall Battin invited me aboard his ship, and kept me a time as chaplaine to his squadron; and goeing to ye Downes, I parted from him and went to London, thence to a kinsman, one Mr. Thomas Spratt, minister of Greenwich.[1] . . . After a time the Lord opened a doore of setillment for me in a place in the county of Corke, called Mitchaellstowne.

There is another interesting entry in Spratt's Journal:—

As I remember there was a cannues[2] boate made in our meeting house in Algires, which was carried forth and

[1] Father of the Bishop of Rochester. [2] Canvas.

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hid in a brake of canes by the seaside, which carried five of my consorts over the Mediterranean Sea to the Majorko Island in 6 days. . . . I was much suspected to have a hand in contriveing ye boate, but Providence ordered that I was never questioned, although a Moore who dwelt over against ye meeting house seeing me one day upon the Mould[1] viewing their ships, frowned and grinded his teeth at me . . . during my aboad there they tooke 5 sayle of English vessells, and their armadores keept an account of 1,700 sayle of Christian shipes they had taken.

The Lord stirr up the hearts of Christian princes to roote out that nest of pirats.

An account of the extraordinary escape here mentioned has been published by William Okeley.[2] It contains this interesting chapter regarding the good Devereux Spratt :—

The gracious God, looking upon the afflictions of His poor servants, and remembering us in our low estate, was pleased many waies to mitigate the load of our captivity; we have reason to say, with the Church, *We were bondsmen, yet our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy to us, to give us a reviving and a nail in his Holy Place* (*Ezra* ix. 9). And thus He brought about His design of grace and mercy. There was an English ship taken by some of our Algerine pirates, and in her one Mr. Devereux Sprat, a minister of the Gospel. It deserves our consideration and greatest admiration that the wise God should supply our necessaries at the cost and charge of others of His dear servants. Now some of us observing this Mr. Sprat to be a person of very sober, grave and religious deportment, we addressed ourselves to him and humbly entreated that we might enjoy the benefit of his ministry; in order whereto we desired him that he would compound with his patron,

[1] Mole or harbour.

[2] *Ebenezer; or, A small Monument of Great Mercy.* 1675.

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at so much a month, and because we were abundantly convinced of our duty to administer to him of our carnal things, who should administer to us of his spirituals, we engaged to allow him a competency to maintain himself, and satisfy the expectation of his patron. The good man hearkened to us with much readiness, and now indeed we found our burdens much lighter, and our conditions not prest so hard upon our spirits. Thrice a week this godly, painful servant of Jesus Christ prayed with us, and preached to us the Word of God. Our meeting place was a cellar, which I had hired at some distance from our shop. To our meetings resorted many, sometimes three or four score, and though we met next the street, yet we never had the least disturbance from the Turks or Moors. It is true that such were the circumstances of the slavery of many poor Christians that they could not attend, and such the wretched carelessness of others that they would not attend, but thus was our God pleased to give us the means of strengthening our faith and comforting our drooping spirits.

Okeley's story is a most extraordinary one.

He embarked in 1639 on board the *Mary* for the West Indies, having two other ships in company. On the sixth day after they had set sail from the Isle of Wight they fell in with three Algerine vessels, which took all three of them, the *Mary* having six men killed and wounded in the action. The rest were kept close prisoners, and after five or six weeks were taken to Algiers.

Okeley was sold to a Tagareen, or descendant of a Moor from Spain, and after a short service at sea was allowed to earn his living as best he could, and to pay his master two dollars a month. He got a small advance of money and set up a shop for the

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sale of hardware and wine, and thus had an opportunity of rendering some relief to John Rendall and his wife and child, who were captured at the same time as himself.

These two men were shortly afterwards accused unjustly of an attempt to escape; Rendall received 300 blows on the soles of his feet, Okeley was set to weaving, a trade of which he was utterly ignorant. He now began to turn his thoughts to the possibility of escape, and having taken six other English captives into his confidence, they commenced to construct a boat in Okeley's cellar, of such timber as they could find, covered with canvas instead of planks, and overlaid with pitch and tallow, to render it waterproof. Having, with no small labour, put the whole together and then taken it to pieces again, the next difficulty was to convey it out of town and fix it together secretly; oars had to be constructed of pipe-staves; provisions for the voyage collected; water put on board in goat-skins, and themselves to escape the vigilance of their masters. All these difficulties were surmounted with incredible ingenuity, but at the last moment it was found that the frail bark would only contain five of them, so two had to remain behind. Okeley and four others started, and after a perilous voyage of five days, during which they nearly perished from hunger, thirst and fatigue, they managed to reach the island of Majorca, whence they returned to England.

If any confirmation were necessary of the truth of Devereux Spratt's Diary, it may be found in the

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parish register of Cartmel in Lancashire where these entries occur :—

January 5, *Anno Dom.* 1644.—Gyles Parke, son of John of Holkar, and Elizabeth Gordon, daughter of Robte. Gordon, Lord Viscount of Kentmeere, married in Algear in Barbary by Mr. Spratte, Minister. October 21, 1645, Elizabeth, daughter of the sayde Gyles Parke, baptized in Algeir in Barbary.

Then follow records of other births at Cartmel, the last of which caused the death of the mother, who was buried in Cartmel church.

Were these captives? and some of the 'poor countrymen amongst whom it pleased God to make Spratt an instrument of much good,' and were the marriage and baptism recorded here amongst the acts of Christian love and charity, to perform which he 'chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy liberty at home'?

This will probably never be cleared up, nor shall we ever be able to say with certainty who Robert Gordon, Viscount of Kentmeere, was. There certainly never existed such a title. Did any one raise himself to the peerage *in partibus infidelium*, or could it be a mistake in spelling, and intended to represent Robert Gordon, Viscount of *Kenmure* and Lord of Lochinvar? The word Algiers itself is spelt in two different manners in the two entries. But then he never had a daughter, or at least one recognised by the Church. So we must be content to leave this a mystery, like many a fearful tragedy buried for ever from human knowledge in the terrible prisons of this 'famous

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and warlike city.' Happily in this case the victims, if such they were, eventually got their liberty and settled in their native land, where they took the first occasion of a child being born to them there to register the marriage and the previous birth at Algiers.

Charles had too much to do and to think of at home to be able to aid his unfortunate subjects in captivity. Something, however, was done. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1641 for the relief of captives taken by the Turkish, Moorish, and other pirates, and a rate of 1 per cent. was imposed on all exports and imports to provide funds for their ransom. Captain William Wylldy was sent out in the *Charles*, and he liberated a few slaves at a cost of 2,107*l.* A resolution of the House was passed that the moneys collected from members for coming late to prayers be distributed amongst the poor women that daily attend the House whose husbands were captives in Algiers.

CHAPTER V.

MISSION OF EDMOND CASSON—ADMIRAL BLAKE'S EXPEDITION.

1645—1655.

WHAT the King could not attempt was taken up seriously by Parliament, and on August 16, 1645, they determined to send out Edmond Casson as their agent. The Committee of Foreign Affairs was ordered to furnish him with letters of credence, which the Speakers of both Houses were to sign. He was also supplied[1] with 'a ship of strength called the *Honour* laden with a *gargasoon* of money and goods to a great value. But it so pleased the Divine Providence (to whose guidance all things submit) that the said ship with her lading came to anchor (by reason of contrary winds) in the road of Gibraltar, and was there by accident set on fire. The vessel was plundered by the Spaniards, and the money that could be saved was embarked on board another vessel called the *Diamond*, which was lost near Cadiz. The Parliament sent out another vessel called the *Charles* with a similar cargo, and on this occasion both ship and agent arrived at Algiers in safety

[1] *A Relation of the whole Proceedings Concerning the Redemption of Captives in Argier and Tunis.* Published by Special Authority. 1647.

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on September 21, 1646. Casson was well received and hospitably entertained by the Pasha and Divan; they readily consented to a peace, but stated that as the English slaves had all been sold to various masters they could not be delivered without the payment of their ransoms; this, however, would not exceed the sums originally paid for them in the market, as shown in the public registers. Casson set to work to draw up a list of all the English in the city, the number of whom amounted to no less than 650, besides about a hundred more then absent in the various cruisers and in the Algerine squadron at Candia. 'Divers of the English youth,' he says, 'bee turned Turkes through beating and hard usage, and divers children, the which they keep very galant, but the young men they carry to Alexandria, and other parts to the eastward.'

The people were very unwilling to part with their slaves at any price, especially the women, children and skilled labourers, but he arranged to free them at the rate of 32*l.* per head, with the addition of certain port charges which made up the sum to 38*l.* Casson had hoped to have sent away 'the better sort of persons' first, but he was compelled to liberate first those who could be had in exchange for cloth, and leave the rest till he could receive further supplies of money, which he earnestly requested might be sent him. He was also anxious that they should go home in summer, 'for I doe assure you their clothes be thin.'

Only one list of slaves liberated by him is extant;

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it contains 242 names with the prices paid for each. The usual price was 500 *dobles*[1] for men; but Alice Hayes, of Edinburgh, was valued at 1,100; Sarah Ripley, of London, at 800; Elizabeth Mancor, of Dundee, was allowed to go for 200; Mary Ripley and her two children were valued at 1,000; Mary Bruster, of Youghal, perhaps one of Spratt's companions, was deemed worth 1,392; whilst among the men, Thomas Thomson, of London, fetched 1,300.

Amongst the 'better sort of persons,' who could not then be liberated were Thomas Sweet and Richard Robinson. Their touching letters to their friends in London were published by Parliament, and are worthy of being reproduced *in extenso*:[2]—

Deare Friends,—It is now about 6 yeares since I was most unfortunately taken by a Turkes man of warre on the coasts of Barbary, captive into Argiere, since which time I have written oft to London to Master Southwood of the upper ground, to Richard Barnard of Duke's Place, Richard Coote of the Bankside, to master Linger a haberdasher in Crooked Lane, and in that to Master Southwood I sent an inclosed to my father, if living, and other letters to my brothers and friends if not dead. I could never hear whether any of you were alive or dead, which makes me think the letters are either miscarried, or all of you deceased, or gone to other places, or else I know you are so much Christians and friends that you would have looked upon me in such a condition. O! my friends, once more I tell you I am a miserable captive in Argiere, taken by a Flemish vessell two years after I left

[1] Double pesetas, two francs each.

[2] These are contained in a volume of single sheets in the British Museum, No. 3.

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the warres in Gilderland. My Patroone is one *Baron*, a *French* Renegado, that lives in the country, but hires me and another Protestant captive (one master *Robinson* a *Norfolke* man) out in Argiere, for this time, and if we goe up to the country, you may never hear of us againe; our misery is that the price of our Redemption will be no lesse than 250*l.* because we are thought to have good Friends in England, and we must both goe off together. Master Robinson hath written to his friends, and we have deeply bound ourselves to each other, that we will engage our friends to us both equally. Ah! Father, Brother, friends and acquaintance, use some speedy means for our Redemption. Many hundred slaves have been redeemed from their misery since we came hither, which makes us hope still we may be the next, and then the next, but still our hopes are deceived. We doe pray you therefore, for the Lord Christ's sake that redeemed you, that you would use all possible means for our redemption. There is now a party in England renowned over the Christian world for their piety this way. O! make your addresse to those noble worthies in the name of Christ for whose sake we suffer. We did never so well understand the meaning of that Psalme, penned by those captive *Jewes*, held in Babilonish captivity, as now: *By the waters of Babilon we sate down and wept when we remembered thee, O! Sion*, when we remembered thee O! *England*. O! good friends, we hope these our sighs will come to your eares, and move pity and compassion. We are told there is a merchant in London, one Mr. *Stanner* of St. Mary's Axe, that hath a factor in Legorne, and one Mr. *Hodges* and Mr. *Mico*, *Londoners* that are dealers there who are able to direct you in the readiest way for our redemption. Deny us not your prayers if you can doe nothing else. It will be some comfort to heare from friends. There is a Post in London that conveys letters into all parts, and you may have an opportunity of letting us heare from you, if you please, within a month or six weeks. The Lord direct your

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thoughts with waies of love, and strengthen us with faith and Patience.

Your sorrowful friend and brother in Christ,

THOMAS SWEET.

There subscribes to these besides:—

RICHARD ROBINSON.

From Barbary: September 29, 1646.

Another letter follows:—

Sithence our last sent you in September, Master Cason the Parliament's agent and the Basha here concluded a peace, and it is agreed that all *English* captives (not turned Renegadoes) shall be redeemed at the price they were first sold in the Market for, which our Patrone understanding before the agreement, made us over by Bill to a Moore in *Tunis*, being a merchant of his acquaintance, the place being under another Government, and swore we should not be redeemed till the last man there, unlesse we could procure the summe first demanded which is 250 *li.* I doe keepe his bookes of accompts and merchandise, and that keepes me here in misery when others that are illiterate goe off upon easie tearmes for cloath, so that my breeding is my undoing unlesse pitty be shewne.

THOMAS SWEET.

November 26.

To these letters is attached the following endorsement:—

The long and lamentable bondage of Thomas Sweet and Richard Robinson our neighbour Englishmen (and good Protestants) being cleered unto us by the Testimony and recommendation of divers godly ministers of the Assembly, and of this city of *London*, upon the desire of their friends, we can doe no lesse than recommend the sad condition of these men to your godly consideration and Christian Charity,

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heartily wishing and desiring you would yield your utmost and most speedy furtherance, that they may be redeemed with the first.

(Signed) Richard Price, Baronet,
And seven others, members of the Honorable House of Commons.

Published by Authority. [April 16, 1647.]

These men's names do not appear in any list of liberated slaves, and I have searched in vain both among the State papers of the Algiers series and in the correspondence from Tunis for a clue to their subsequent fate.

The treaty concluded by Casson does not exist in any published collection. The preamble states that Edmond Casson had arrived as agent for the Parliament of England to make peace on both sides, so that the harm done on both sides should be forgotten and passed by. A Divan was called, and peace was concluded till the end of the world, and no man should break it! Now any ship might come to Algiers, as in former times, to buy and sell, and no man was to give the English a bad word, or a bad deed, or a bad action. If Algerine ships should meet English vessels on the high seas, they were to do no harm or injury to them. No Englishman was thenceforth to be bought or sold or made a slave. If the corsairs of Tunis, Tripoli, or Sallee should bring in English prizes, they were not to be sold in Algiers. Should any English merchant die, his estate was to be made over to the consul. No English subject, passenger on board any prize, was to be enslaved.

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'To ye English Consul y^t^ lives at Algier wee allow a place to pray in, and noe man to doe him or any other of ye English nation any wrong or injury in word or deed. If any Englishman should happen to strike any Turk or Moore, if hee is taken, wee will punish him, but if hee escape, wee have nothing to say to ye English Consul nor noe Englishman whatsoever.'

Casson's proceedings received the approval of Parliament, and he was authorised to carry on the work of liberating captives.[1] Several Acts of Parliament were passed in order to obtain the necessary funds, but it appears that the money was directed to other purposes, and it even ceased to be collected, so that great complaints were made by the remaining captives themselves, who were left 'remedilesse and without any hope of succour,' and by the merchants who had advanced large sums of money in hope of being repaid. All these petitioned Parliament to provide the funds necessary for releasing the remaining captives, and paying the debts due for the 'releasement of former slaves.'[2]

What further steps were taken by Casson we do not know; there is a great hiatus in the Public Records, corresponding to the time of the Commonwealth. It is supposed that Secretary Thurloe concealed his papers in the ceiling of garrets occupied by him in Lincoln's Inn; and although, after the Restoration, a great number of these were bought by

[1] *House of Lords' Calendar*, 1647. *Law Journal*, vol. ix. p. 205.
[2] *Rawl. MSS.* c. 366, fol. 283.

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Richard Rawlinson from a grocer, and presented by him to the Bodleian Library, many important documents have been lost.

On July 26, 1653, Casson reports the death of the Consul Humphry Oneby, and thenceforward he performed the functions of consul till he too followed his colleague.

Amongst the documents preserved in the 'Rawlinson MSS.'[1] is an Arabic letter with an English translation from the Government of Algiers to the Lord Protector, dated February 1655, reporting the death of Casson on December 5, 1654, and stating that all his property had been inventoried and given into the charge of his servants, and begging that another consul might be appointed in his stead, who would be treated with all the consideration accorded to consuls in other ports. Cromwell replied to the Pasha[2] that Elizabeth Bagnell, only sister of the deceased, had taken out letters of administration to his estate, and had sent a relative, Richard Casson, to receive his effects; he therefore expressed to the Divan 'our resentment of their great care,' and begged that they might be handed over to the person in question.

Abraham Smedmore, Casson's servant, writes, under date February 17, 1655, that some Englishmen had been taken by the Turks in foreign vessels, but at once released by the Dey when they were known to be such. The Dey was still anxious that another

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 56.

[2] *Thurloe Papers*, vol. iii. p. 500. *Rawl. MSS.* A. 26.

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consul should be sent and to preserve peace with England.

It was hardly to be expected that this state of things would be of long continuance; however fair the promises of the Algerines might be, they were made with the firm intention of breaking them on the first favourable opportunity. When, therefore, Cromwell was fairly settled in the Government of England, he determined to send a squadron to the Mediterranean, under the command of General Robert Blake. His principal object was to chastise the pirates of Tunis, with whom Casson does not appear to have made terms of peace, and where also many English subjects languished in slavery.

Blake's squadron consisted of the *St. George*, his own flagship, the *St. Andrew*, bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Badly, the *Plymouth*, *Newcastle*, *Taunton*, *Kent*, *Worcester*, *Langport*, *Foresight*, *Amity*, *Mermaid* and *Merlin*.

On January 29, 1655, the squadron was at Leghorn, where it arrived after a cruise full of difficulties and dangers; as Blake says, 'having been led by the most merciful and good hand of Providence by the brink of destruction into safety.'[1] It set sail on the 30th of the same month, and on February 8 it anchored in the Goletta Roads. He at once made known his demands to the Bey, and after some correspondence commissioners were sent on board to treat with him. They were full of assurances

[1] *Add. MSS. Brit. Mus.* No. 9304, p. 98.

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of peace for the future, but refused all reparation for the past.

He did not find it convenient to stay any longer at that time, being short of provisions, but on leaving Goletta he looked in at Porto Farina, the winter harbour of the Tunisian fleet, and found that their ships had been hauled close up to the shore, earth-works had been erected, and guns posted in them to defend their vessels. He left several of his ships to cruise off the coast, and with the rest of his squadron he proceeded to Cagliari.[1]

He returned to Tunis shortly after, and

found the Bey's Government more intractable than before, adding to their obstinacy much insolence and contumely, denying us all commerce of civility, and hindering others as much as they could from the same. Their barbarous provocations did so work upon our spirits that we judged it necessary for the honour of the fleet, our nation and religion, seeing they would not deal with us as friends, to make them feel us as enemies, and it was thereupon resolved, at a council of war, to endeavour the firing of their ships at Porto Farina. The better to effect the same we drew off again and sailed to Trapani, so that they might be the more sure. After a stay of some days there we set sail back for Porto Farina, where we arrived the 3rd instant (April) in the afternoon, and met again at a council of war, at which it was resolved, by the permission of God, to put in execution our former intentions. Accordingly next morning, very early, we entered with the fleet into the harbour, and anchored before their castles, the Lord being pleased to favour us with a gentle gale off the sea, which cast all the smoke upon them, and made our work the more easy, for after some hours' dispute we set on fire all their ships, which were nine in number, and, the same favour-

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 106.

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able gale still continuing, we retreated out again into the roads. We had 25 men slain and about 40 hurt, with very little other loss. We are even now setting sail to go to Algiers, that being the only place that can afford us a considerable supply of bread and flesh if they will.[1]

Never surely was a glorious victory narrated in more simple and modest language. The Tunisian fleet was strongly protected by the guns of the forts, by earthworks which had been thrown up for the occasion, as well as by a camp of several thousand horse and foot behind them. Blake marked his appreciation of the gravity of the occasion by having Divine Service performed with great solemnity on board every vessel of the squadron, and then he proceeded to anchor as close to the batteries as his vessels could float. A broadside issued on the occasion of his death two years later said with some reason—

> The barbarous pirates upon Tunis strand
> Felt the effects of his avenging hand.

Blake's negotiations at Algiers were much simplified by this signal victory. His instructions were very clear and precise, very different indeed to those given to former and subsequent negotiators. He was instructed to proceed with his fleet to Algiers. On his arrival he was to require the consul to come on board, and having understood from him the state of affairs, what English captives they had on shore, and what prizes had been taken by any of their

[1] General Blake to Secretary Thurloe. *Thurloe MSS.* (Birch) vol. iii. p. 300.

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ships, he was to demand instant restitution. He was to inform the Government that the Lord Protector desired 'to hold and mainteyne a good correspondence with them, and to agree upon such terms as may be just and reasonable, and in case they shall refuse to doe justice to us and the subjects aforesayd, you shall use the force under your command to compell them thereunto, and to that purpose you are authorised to assault them either at land or sea, and to fight with, kill and slay all such persons as shall oppose you.'

No such strong measures were necessary; the Algerines at once ratified the articles of peace before concluded with Gasson, and included therein Scotch, Irish, Jersey and Guernsey men, and all other subjects of the Protector; and they liberated all British slaves, Blake paying a moderate sum for their ransom.

Several Dutch captives swam on board the fleet to escape captivity, and rather than restore them, a subscription was made amongst the seamen of the fleet, each man subscribing a dollar, to pay for their ransom.

The consul mentioned in Blake's instructions was Mr. Robert Browne, who was appointed in the same year, and to whom the Protector was pleased to allow the yearly salary of 400*l*.

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CHAPTER VI.

CONSULATE OF ROBERT BROWNE—CAPTIVITY OF THE EARL OF INCHIQUIN—MISSION OF THE EARL OF WINCHELSEA—EXPEDITION OF THE EARL OF SANDWICH AND SIR JOHN LAWSON.

1655—1664.

THE terror inspired by Blake was not of long continuance, and the Algerines soon relapsed into their old habits of making indiscriminate captures. The Rawlinson MSS. contain several letters from Consul Browne to Secretary Thurloe about this period. In one,[1] dated August 7, 1657, he makes allusion to a demand of the Lord Protector for the restitution of a ship called the *King David*, and he forwards a reply from the Pasha and Divan; he adds that he had pressed the matter with as much earnestness as possible, but to little purpose; they replied that the people who took the vessel had gone to fight for the Sultan in the Levant, and they could do nothing further till their return. In October he again writes[2] in reference to the same case, and says that the Pasha and the Divan who had promised to take it into further consideration had been turned out, and he was informed that the

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 53, fol. 102. [2] *Loc. cit.* A. 55, fol. 1.

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captain who did the act and the greater part of his men had been killed in war, so that restitution was now impossible. He ends by expressing his opinion that no satisfaction need be expected from them unless exacted by force. In December 1658 he reports[1] that the Pasha and Divan have sent the Lord Protector a reply 'conserninge ye *Angell's* business. They appear very earnest to have justice done to them, but care for doing none themselves; witness their unjust detention of all Englishmen, passengers in foreign ships, to the number of six, and six more cast away on the island of Corsica.' The consul demanded their release, but was able to obtain no other answer than that the English had sold several Turks to the Venetians, and he might save himself the trouble of demanding them. For some months past he had perceived that their treatment of the English was far different from what it was wont to be, 'and now, *since my confinement*, an Englishman is not able to pass the streets without being affronted, nor our servants goe about their necessary affairs without being abused, and they stick not to tell us to our faces that Englishmen are not as they were, and this not from the meanest sort neither.'

Enclosed in this letter was one from the Pasha to the Lord Protector, stating that from time to time many English commanders, captains and consuls had made peace with Algiers, and had always been well treated. But of late Algerine ships meeting British

[1] *Loc. cit.* A. 62, fol. 583.

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vessels at sea had found in them Frenchmen, Spaniards, Genoese, Portuguese, &c., with their goods, bound for countries at enmity with Algiers. More than this, he had found his enemies carrying a few English, and pretending that their ships and cargoes were British, and further that British ships had actually delivered up Turks to foreign powers to be enslaved. From time to time he had demanded explanations of the consul; sometimes he was told that he knew nothing about it, and at others that he would write and inform his Government.

Now the Pasha gives notice that henceforth he will hold the consul responsible. If he does not get justice, he will search all British ships at sea, and take out any of his enemies' goods or persons that he may find on board; he concludes his letter with these words: 'We cannot beleeve our peace should be understood a good peace, with so much treachery and falsehood; nor can we imagine that you, their great king, should approve of itt; wherefore be pleased to be speedy in the remedy hereof, and God prosper you.'

It will be remembered that Devereux Spratt left the coast of Ireland on his disastrous voyage, under a pass from Lord Inchiquin. Nothing was then less likely than that he also should fall into the hands of the same dreaded corsairs. But so it was. The first Earl of Inchiquin was known in his native Ireland as *Muircertach*, or 'Morough of the burnings,' from the manner in which he was wont to conduct warlike operations. He was sixth Baron and first Earl; a

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Royalist first, then General and Lord President of Munster under the Commonwealth, and again a Royalist when he emigrated to France before the Restoration, in about 1651. He was a good soldier, and had taken part in the Italian wars, about 1636–39, before he became Lord President of Munster, under Sir William St. Leger. In 1653 he commanded the French army (in which there were many Irishmen) in Catalonia. During the struggle between Spain and Portugal he was appointed Viceroy of the revolted provinces, in 1654, and was sent in command of an auxiliary force to Portugal. On his voyage, and when close to the Tagus, his vessel was attacked by Algerines, and after a gallant resistance, in which his son, Lord O'Brien, afterwards Governor of Tangier, lost an eye, the party were taken prisoners and carried off to Algiers on November 28, 1659.

On July 20, 1660, Elizabeth, Countess of Inchiquin, addressed a petition to His Majesty, representing that her husband had remained six months in miserable captivity, and praying that the officer commanding-in-chief in the Mediterranean might be directed to demand his release.

On the very same day Charles wrote a letter to the consul at Algiers, informing him that he had resolved, out of his princely commiseration for the sufferings and captivity of his right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and his son, to endeavour to procure their freedom. He therefore required the consul to demand their release in his name, alleging all the

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inducements he might think proper to effect the same, and authorising him to treat for their ransoms on as easy terms as might be procured.

This letter was probably never despatched, as shortly afterwards Lord Inchiquin himself petitions His Majesty, saying that before His Majesty's letter could be transmitted to Algiers he was constrained to promise the payment of several sums of money to divers persons (by way of gratuity), amounting in all to 7,500 crowns, for obtaining his liberty, for a great part of which money the English consul and others had become security. His son had remained as hostage till the whole should be paid, and he begs His Majesty to grant the sum required. Lord Inchiquin arrived in England in the *Nantwich*, about August 1660; his prayer was granted, and instructions were issued to the customs officers, permitting the transport of 7,500 dollars to Algiers for his ransom.

As Consul Browne continued to report the daily searching and bringing in of English vessels by the Algerines on the pretext that they had foreign goods on board, Charles determined to avail himself of the departure of the Earl of Winchelsea, as Ambassador to Constantinople, to order him to call at Algiers and negotiate a new treaty with the Pasha. Preliminary instructions, under the sign-manual of the King, were sent to the consul, requiring him to follow implicitly such directions as might be communicated to him by His Lordship, to prepare the Regency for the approaching negotiation, even to the extent of

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'employing on our account any sums of money not exceeding 200*l.*, to such in power there who have the best interest to further and preserve the peace;' and also to demand the liberation of the servants taken with Lord Inchiquin and his son, on the ground that they were only passengers, and not in the pay of strangers.

Lord Winchelsea proceeded on his mission in H.M.S. *Plymouth*, and on December $\frac{8}{18}$, 1660, he concluded a treaty containing the following additional articles:—

Goods of vessels wrecked on the coast were not to be considered prize, neither were the crews to be enslaved, and the Algerines were to assist them to the best of their ability.

Neither the consul nor any other Englishman was to be held bound for the debts of another, unless he voluntarily became surety.

Englishmen in matters of difference with Turks were to be subject to the jurisdiction of the Divan; but in disputes amongst themselves, to that of the consul only. Both parties were to furnish men-of-war with such necessaries as might be required at market rates, without paying customs dues.

If any grievance should happen on either side, the aggrieved party must not break the peace unless satisfaction be denied.

Liberty was granted to the Algerines to search British vessels, and take out all foreigners and their goods. A long dispute arose on this point, but finally Lord Winchelsea was obliged to agree to it until His

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Majesty's pleasure should be known. It is hardly credible that any British Minister could have formally sanctioned so degrading a stipulation, especially as he concludes his despatch by observing that His Majesty would have no difficulty in compelling them to accede to his 'own just terms and conditions,' as their whole fleet did not consist of more than twenty-eight or thirty sail, their largest gun being a ten-pounder, and the town being situated on the side of a hill so close and compact, and so thickly peopled, that every shot fired into it would take effect and do execution. Consul Browne, in forwarding Lord Winchelsea's despatch to England, seems at a loss how to justify the act; he says: 'These people are willing to condescend to anything but that of not searching our ships, and taking out all strangers and their goods, which privilege they will have, or no peace with us. Whereupon the ambassador was forced to give in, and let things remain as they did, until His Majesty's pleasure could be known; not out of any thought that it will be condescended unto, but only to gain time, that our merchants in all parts may have notice thereof, and so provide for their own safety.'

Lord Winchelsea gives an amusing account of the manner of conducting a Divan. About forty or fifty Turks assembled, clad in violet vests, 'almost like our Heralds' coats, with black loops upon the breast.' They placed themselves in two rows in an open court, in the centre of which was a fountain, and at one end a gallery in which the scribes were seated. The council consisted of twenty-four captains of companies,

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twenty-four governors of towns, and eighteen elders. Ramadhan Agha placed himself at the lower end of both ranks and began to say with a loud voice: 'The English are come to treat with you, and have brought letters from their King and from their ambassador now going to Constantinople,' which words were repeated by all in turn. He then asked them whether they thought fit to enter into a treaty with the English; this question was also asked by all successively, and subsequently answered by themselves in the affirmative. His lordship remarks, 'that the like ridiculous method of consultation is not to be paralleled in the whole world, nor is it possible that this form of deliberation can ever produce any mature or solid results.'

This Ramadhan was Agha of Janissaries, and he it was who had just invented the new form of government, by which the Pasha was retained as a merely nominal ruler, out of respect to the Porte, while the real power was vested in the Divan. He himself was murdered by his soldiers very shortly afterwards.

It really does not appear that this form of deliberation produced any more solid results than the ambassador anticipated. Petitions still came pouring in, couched in as piteous terms as usual, of the 'sore bondage and servitude' under which captives groaned; one says that he is 'made daily to grind in a mill as a horse with a chain upon each legge, and as an addition to his misery he is almost starved with hunger, besides other grossest usage' They all

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agree that life is a burden to them and implore His Majesty's gracious intervention.

These petitions were laid before Parliament; it was admitted that large sums of money raised for the redemption of captives had been appropriated to defray the debts of the Navy; out of 69,296*l.* levied between January 13, 1651, and October 21, 1659, 11,109*l.* had been paid into the Exchequer, and all the rest had been used as above described. A bill for the appropriation of this money was now ordered.[1]

Even Charles could not give his consent to the obnoxious article agreed upon by Lord Winchelsea. The Earl of Sandwich was sent to Portugal to bring over the Queen, and at the same time to settle the matters in dispute with the Algerines. He was ordered to proceed as straight to Algiers as wind and weather would permit; to signify the King's dissent to the article that they might search English ships, and therewith to declare hostility; to provide for the safety of the consul and English merchants, and then to use his best endeavours to destroy their ships.

Lord Sandwich, with Sir John Lawson for his Lieutenant, proceeded to Algiers, where, having delivered his message and received the consul on board, he cannonaded the town from a distance, but the wind prevented him from approaching near enough to do any material injury to it; and then leaving Lawson with a squadron, he quitted the

[1] *Com. Journ.* vol. viii. p. 216.

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Mediterranean. Mr. Pepys was very much troubled because 'My Lord hath not done what he went for, though he did as much as any man in the world could have done. The want of money puts all things, and above all, the Navy, out of order; and yet I do not see that the King takes care to bring in any money, but thinks of new designs to lay out money.' On another occasion Pepys took Mr. Pett to the Countess of Sandwich to kiss her hand; there he heard that 'an express had come in from My Lord with letters, that by a great storm and tempest the Mole of Algiers is broken down, and many of their ships sunk into the Mole, so that God Almighty hath ended that unlucky business for us, which is very good news.'

When the wind changed, Sir John Lawson soon compelled the Algerines to accept his terms, which they did without the slightest intention of abiding by the agreement, in fact before Sir John reached Portsmouth Mr. Pepys says: 'Captain Berkeley is come to town with a letter from the Duana of Algiers to the King, wherein they demand again the searching of our ships, and taking out of strangers and their goods, and that what English ships are taken without the Duke's pass they will detain, (though it be flat contrary to the words of the peace,) as prizes, till they do hear from our King, which they advise him may be speedy. And this they did the very next day after they had received with great joy the Grand Signor's confirmation of the peace from Constantinople by Captain Berkeley; so that there is no

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command nor certainty to be had of these people. The King is resolved to send his will by a fleet of ships, and it is thought best and speediest to send those very ships that are now come home.'

The treaty concluded by Sir John Lawson, before mentioned, bears date November 10, 1662. The search article was modified to this extent: Algerian men-of-war meeting with English merchant vessels might send a boat alongside, with 'two sitters more than the common crew of rowers;' on the English commanders producing an Admiralty pass, the ship was to proceed freely. If no pass were produced, but the major part of the crew should prove to be English, the ship likewise was to go free, and the strangers and their goods were to be unmolested. All slaves then in Algiers were to be ransomed at the price first paid for them in the market, and the usual ridiculous stipulation was made 'For the time to come no subjects of His Majesty to be sold or made slaves in Algiers.'

In accordance with the terms of the last article, 'His Majesty recommended the redemption of all slaves, his subjects, in Algiers, unto the Lords Bishops of this kingdom, who have proceeded with such alacrity and expedition that for the effecting thereof 4,000*l.*' were prepared before April 23, 1662, and Dr. J. Bargrave, and the Rev. J. Sellecke, Archdeacon of Bath, were deputed to carry the measure into execution.

Consul Browne's letter of October 22, 1663, is a type of all the correspondence of the period. He

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complains that the Sultan's ratification of the peace concluded by Sir John Lawson did not answer his expectations, 'nor worked that effect which to any reasonable capacity it would have done, with any but these rebellious people, who take no notice of any power, and obey no command but that of their own wills, so made light account of their Sovereign's command.' He gives a long list of vessels taken and seamen enslaved, and of his endeavours to get them released.

It would be tedious to give your honour an account of what passed between the Divan and myself in this business, it being impossible for any but those that have been eye-witnesses to believe the rash, unjust and inconsiderate proceedings of these people, denying the receipt of any papers after they have been taken from the commanders, keeping them prisoners, not suffering them to come to my house, or speak with anybody till they have made their business secure amongst themselves. They will not give us the liberty to make our own defence, all that we allege being false, and only what they say true; in fine, such usage as is unutterable and insufferable, and fear will every day pro ve worse and worse, there being no government amongst them. . . . So your honour must not think it strange if from henceforward in all my letters you hear of nothing but complaints, there being little else to be expected from these perfidious people.

Charles again sent Lawson to remonstrate with them, expressing his hope that they would faithfully observe the treaty, and his conviction that all the complaints that had reached his ears were owing to 'the violences of private men, and not owned by

you.' They refused, however, to give him any satisfaction, and he declared war against them, but without attempting any hostile demonstration.

Consul Browne died of the plague shortly before the month of October in this year.

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CHAPTER VII.

CONSULATE OF CAPTAIN NICHOLAS PARKER AND JOHN WARD—SIR THOMAS ALLEN'S FOUR EXPEDITIONS TO ALGIERS—ACTION OF THE COMBINED ENGLISH AND DUTCH SQUADRON OFF CAPE SPARTEL—DESTRUCTION OF THE ALGERINE SQUADRON BY SIR E. SPRAGG AT BOUGIA.

1664—1674.

WHILE Sir John Lawson was still at Algiers endeavouring to induce the people to observe the treaty which he had concluded with them, he was superseded, and Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Allen sent in the *Plymouth* to continue the negotiations. After much trouble he induced them to renew that treaty, adding an article permitting the consul to leave Algiers freely should any future rupture occur.[1] He insisted long on satisfaction being given to His Majesty's subjects for the late losses they had sustained, and for the expense which His Majesty had incurred in equipping his fleets on that occasion. It was to no purpose; all that he could obtain from them was a certificate, suggested to them indeed by the King's letter, that the late breach of peace was owing to the fault of certain private individuals, for which the Divan was not

[1] Dated October 30, 1664.

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responsible, 'for which we have drowned one, banished another, some have fled to escape our justice, and divers have been imprisoned, to give satisfaction to the King's most excellent Majesty.' This was all the reparation the King could obtain. Captain Allen then appointed Captain Nicholas Parker, commanding H.M.S. *Nonsuch*, to act as consul, in the room of Mr. Browne; he was received in the Divan with much solemnity, 'and an abatement made to him in his house rent as a respect to His Majesty's Minister.'

Writing nearly a year later to Lord Cheyney, Captain Parker says that he has received no communication for his guidance from Whitehall; he has hitherto had nothing to complain of, but the Algerines seem troubled that since this peace the English have had little or no trade with them. He narrates how the corsairs had lately captured a splendid Spanish prize coming from the West Indies, and how, hearing that the Duc de Beaufort was on the coast, they landed 223 Spaniards and their spoil, amounting to a million of dollars, at Cherchel. The Duke took their vessels, but they saved their prisoners and booty.

Captain Parker was urgently required at home to command a vessel of war; so he gave over charge of the consulate to John Ward, a merchant at Algiers. His first letter, dated June 21, 1667, states that the Algerines are highly discontented at making no prizes; they meet only French and English vessels at sea, and they cannot and will not keep peace with both nations. They seem disposed to quarrel with

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the French, but a few months will decide the question.

He mentions that a few days previously a Spanish priest entered a mosque with a crucifix in his hand and inveighed against their religion, for which 'he was burnt, or rather roasted, two days after.'

In the spring of 1668, Sir Thomas Allen, whose period of service had expired, returned to England. On his way from Genoa he called at Algiers, and found that the Government of the Regency was perpetually breaking the treaty he had striven so long to conclude; he attempted some negotiation, but they insisted on two points, namely, that every British vessel found with Turkish or Moorish slaves on board should be considered prize, and that if more foreigners than English were found on board a British vessel, they were to be prize, whether passengers or otherwise. 'Never any one mett wth such artfull, dissembling, hippocriticall traytors in this world!' He would fain have broken outright with them, but his ships were very foul, and he was anxiously expected at home.

No sooner had he reached England than it was determined to send him back to Algiers in command of a powerful armada, consisting of H.M.S. *Monmouth*, *Mary*, *Montague*, *Yarmouth*, *Bristol*, *Tiger*, *Nightingale*, *Little Victory*, *Princess*, the fireship *Providence*, and the ketch *Deptford*. He arrived in the Bay of Algiers on September 29, 1668,[1] having sent on the *Nightingale* a few days previously

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 195, fol. 39.

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with the King's letter, and despatches to the consul.

His first act was to request this officer to come on board the *Monmouth*, but the Algerine Government, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty, refused to allow him to leave the shore without hostages for his due return; eventually, but not without some demur, Captain Lloyd was sent on shore and accepted as a hostage.

A council was held on board, and it was determined to demand from the Dey—

1. The liberation of all British subjects.

2. Reparation for the illegal capture and sale of a ship belonging to Plymouth.

3. Reparation for the capture of an Irish vessel on the coast of Portugal. She had been deserted by all her crew except the master. He was killed by the Algerines, but the crew testified before the consul at Cadiz that the vessel was British, and that the cargo belonged to English merchants at Cadiz.

4. The liberation of certain Tangerines and Spaniards taken out of vessels sailing under the British flag.

These demands were to be made first, and it was resolved to leave other grievances until they should be settled. Captains Digby and Clarke, with Captain Jones as interpreter, went on shore with the consul and had an audience of the Divan. Counter-claims and complaints were made. Objection was taken to foreigners serving on board British vessels, so that the Algerines could never be sure of the flag under

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which such vessels sailed. They declared that an English vessel had carried off thirteen slaves valued at £3,000; another they alleged had sold to the Spaniards three Turks who had taken passage on board; they complained of the conduct of the Governor of Tangier in refusing water to their vessels, firing on them, and detaining their boats. All these points they urged at once in a most tumultuous manner, without permitting Captain Digby to reply, and then they put the question, 'Is this peace?' and the whole Divan with great noise and confusion answered, 'This is no peace.'

All these complaints were shown by Captain Digby to be utterly without foundation. The slaves alleged to have been carried away by an English vessel were in reality Okeley and his companions who escaped to Majorca in a canvas boat.[1] The three Turks alluded to had been forced out of a British ship by a Spanish frigate and carried to Gibraltar, where they were freed on the demand of the Governor of Tangier, and the latter, far from having acted in an unfriendly manner, had frequently supplied Algerine vessels with masts, cordage and whatever stores they had required. All explanations were useless, the Divan persisted in declaring that no firm peace was possible till a new Governor was sent to Tangier, and a new Consul to Algiers.

While this discussion was going on Guyland[2]

[1] See *ante*, p. 59.

[2] A Moorish usurper who collected a large army for the purpose of attacking the English at Tangier. Pepys says: 'My Lord Teviott hath received another attaque from Guyland at Tangier, with 10,000 men,

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came to the gate and desired to be heard. He brought with him a small chest filled with lead, and he said that while his goods were in the hands of Colonel Norwood, the Governor of Tangier, for safe custody, the gold and jewels that it contained had been abstracted, and the lead in question substituted.

This was a new matter which the negotiators did not expect, and were not prepared to answer, but having looked over the Governor's papers, they found amongst them a receipt, written by a kinsman of Guyland, acknowledging that he had received the property of the latter in the same condition as when first entrusted to the Governor's care. The Divan would not be convinced, although Captains Digby and Clarke remarked on the improbability of the Governor's having committed so base an action, when he had the whole of Guyland's wealth in his hands, and when he and his whole family would have perished had he not protected them; even now the fleet had brought Guyland's father-in-law from Tangier with a vast amount of wealth. All this had no effect; they cried out in a barbarous and tumultuous manner: 'Restore the gold and jewels before there can be peace!'

Captain Digby replied that there were laws to punish robbery, and he wondered that they should seek to make a public breach of peace for a private concern; that if they remembered their articles, there

and at last, as is said, is come after a personal treaty with him to a good understanding and peace with him.'—August 21, 1663.

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was not one word mentioned of Guyland or his concerns, and this could only be regarded as a pretext for a quarrel. This business would be examined hereafter, in the meantime they must comply with the demands before stated. They continued to answer in their tumultuous manner that when the gold and jewels worth 40,000 pieces of eight were restored, the slaves stolen by the English vessel paid for, a new Governor of Tangier and a consul to Algiers appointed, they would resume negotiations, but at present they would hear no more.

The consul's dragoman, who had hitherto interpreted, was ordered to withdraw, whereupon Captain Digby ordered Captain Jones, who spoke Arabic, to inform them that their demands were futile, and he required a final answer for communication to the Admiral. Ali Agha, starting up, cried out: 'These men talk as if they were drunk, and would force us to restore their subjects whether we will or no; bid them be gone!' To which Captains Digby and Clarke replied, that they spoke with truth and reason and they had not come there to beg for peace.

After reporting proceedings to the Admiral, the latter addressed a communication to the Divan, in which he demanded an immediate reply to the conditions he had proposed, and warned them of the results likely to follow a rupture of the peace. Several interviews followed, both on board and on shore; at last they consented to release the English captives, but the surrender of the Spanish prisoners was steadily resisted. The consul they only allowed

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to remain till a new one could be appointed, 'and if we would not,' says Sir Thomas Allen, 'take that for a final answer we might be gone and tell our king.'

A council of commanders was held, at which it was determined to get the English prisoners on board at any cost, and to propose for the acceptance of the Divan a modification of the treaty restricting the right of search. No objection was made to this, and on October 6 the new agreement was signed, and the English captives sent on board, all but one. 'They would not yield to release Barnaby Welcome, whome they sould for 700 pieces of eight.'

Sir Thomas seemed to have entertained some idea of attacking the Algerines, or of burning their fleet by means of fireships; but the weather was persistently calm, and the ships could not easily be worked, so he comforted himself with the inglorious calculation that the vessels which he had demanded were not worth 2,000*l.*, and the liberty of the Spanish captives could be purchased for 2,000*l.* more, whereas English merchants in the town had property to the value of 40,000*l.*, and there was no saying what loss might be incurred by the capture of British merchant ships by Algerine corsairs. 'All these considerations made me conclud a peace which I hope will give His Majestie and Royall Highness sattisfaction, or elce my condittion will be worse in my latter dayes than in ye begining if I should offend soe good masters.'

He accordingly broke up his force, sending the Tangerines home in the *Providence* fireship, with

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orders to land them and then proceed to 'Legorne to take in ye marble stones for his ma^tie's^ new buildings.' He does not actually report having purchased the liberty of the Spanish captives, but before leaving, a collection was made in the fleet for redeeming some slaves taken under English colours. He hoped to raise 2,600 pieces of eight, which would suffice to purchase the freedom of all but about thirty, who being skilled artificers were naturally much more expensive than the general run of slaves. Ten or twelve thousand pieces of eight would suffice to liberate all, and he hoped that this sum might be placed at his disposal at Leghorn, so as to enable him to take all the captives away with him on his return thence.

The Algerines appear throughout all these negotiations to have successfully maintained their ancient right to domineer over, and to treat with contemptuous insolence, even the armed representative of such a power as England. Not content with exacting a hostage for the return of the consul, they became impatient to get him once more into their power, when in fact his delay on board the flagship was caused by his being occupied in preparing presents for the chief officers of the Regency. To hasten his movements the authorities stopped all the officers and seamen who were on shore at the time, and even the water required for the use of the fleet. The amount of presents is not stated, but Sir Thomas reports that in addition to what had been supplied to him for the purpose, he had to give 'five barrels of powder to the Pasha, a piece of cloath of sillver to

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their women, besydes money required by severall of their inferior scribes and officers.'

Regarding Consul Ward, Sir Thomas Allen says that most of the merchants gave him a very good character, but there was a certain turbulent fellow, John Cole, who had been instrumental, in Consul Browne's days, in getting both him and the nation into trouble, disputing the consul's authority, citing him before the Divan, and generally lessening his prestige, both amongst British subjects and with the Turkish authorities. To him the Admiral addressed a severe letter of admonition,[1] concluding with a threat that his conduct would be reported to the King, and 'Your employers must answer for y^r^ actions, and see if they can keepe you here and drive off consulls at yor pleasure.'

The unfortunate consul, notwithstanding his 'good character' and the provocation he received, was ordered to leave immediately, entrusting his business to his friend Mr. Craffts, 'untill such time as Mr. Gouldsmith comes, or some other whome the King shall pleace to appoint.'[2] Mr. Ward was, however, permitted to remain, very unfortunately for himself, as the Divan took exception to Mr. Craffts' appointment as *locum tenens*.

The modifications to the existing treaty before mentioned were:—First, vessels under the English flag to pass free, but Algerines were permitted to send a search party, consisting of a boat with two

[1] *Tanner MSS.* Bodl. Lib. 292, fol. 14. [2] *Ibid.*

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men. If the crew consisted of more English than foreigners, the vessel was to go free; in the contrary case, it was to be lawful prize, *unless it had an English pass*. Secondly, no boats from Spain, laden with provisions or ammunition for Tangier, were to be seized. Thirdly, no boats belonging to Algiers were to go to Sallee to be turned into vessels of war, and Algerian vessels going to Tangier were to have a pass from the consul.

It may be imagined that these proceedings of Sir Thomas Allen were not received with unqualified favour in England. Mr. Pepys says that the King at once determined to reinforce the Mediterranean squadron, and in fact, on June 18, 1669, he issued a new commission to Sir Thomas Allen,[1] authorising him to renew the peace if possible, but in words so clear and full that there may be no room for further violation of it. The Duke of York, High Admiral of England, issued full instructions[2] for his guidance, and ordered him to assume command of a squadron consisting of the following vessels, viz. :—

1. *Resolution*, third rate.
2. *Revenge*, third rate.
3. *Mary*, third rate.
4. *Bristol*, fourth rate.
5. *Foresight*, fourth rate.
6. *Hampshire*, fourth rate, Captain Beach.
7. *St. David*, fourth rate, flag of Rear-Admiral Sir John Harman.

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 255, fol. 94. Written in Latin.
[2] *Tanner MSS.* 44, fol. 106.

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8. *Centurion*, fourth rate.
9. *Dragon*, fourth rate.
10. *Portland*, fourth rate.
11. *Jersey*, fourth rate.
12. *Nonsuch*, fourth rate.
13. *Constance Warwick*, fourth rate.
14. *Garland*, fifth rate.
15. *Dartmouth*, fifth rate, Captain Darcy.
16. *Milford*.
17. *Pearl*, fifth rate.
18. *Orange*, fireship.
19. *Little Victory*, fireship.
20. *Golden Hand*, storeship.
21. *Deptford*, ketch.
22. *Portsmouth*, ketch.
23. *Welcome*, fireship.

He was directed to take any Algerine ships he might meet on the way. On his arrival, he was absolutely to insist on the release of such of the Spaniards as were taken out of the ship *John*, of London, William Browne commander; also satisfaction for the goods taken out of any other English vessel, especially the *Phœnix*, the *William and Benjamin*, and the *Morning Star*, belonging to the East India Company. In case the Government of Algiers should refuse these demands, he was 'to break with them.'

If these demands were complied with, he was directed to make a new treaty, confirming all the articles contained in former treaties, especially that which prevented any vessel being searched which had a pass from the Lord High Admiral. But he was authorised to consent to a stipulation that no

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English ship should carry a greater number of foreigners, whether passengers or crew, than the number of Englishmen on board. Also, in case the Divan should insist on it, he was authorised to consent to a stipulation that it should not be lawful for any English ship to carry Turks or Mohammedans that were slaves, or that were being sent for sale to any other country.

He was to endeavour to obtain an article prohibiting the Algerines from taking any person out of an English ship on the pretence of examining him, or from using any torture or violence in order to extort a confession.

In case a new peace should be agreed upon, he was 'to restore all such ships as he should happen to have taken from them, without any imbezelment, and with all possible truth and fidelity,' and to make such presents as in his discretion he might think fit and reasonable, either out of the satisfaction money he might receive, or with powder.

In case of failing to come to terms, Sir Thomas was ordered to proceed to open hostilities; taking or destroying any Algerine ships he might meet at sea, and especially burning those within the Mole. In the event of his taking any Turkish prisoners, he was instructed to exchange them, as far as possible, for British captives, and the rest he was 'to sell to the best advantage for his Majesties use.'

Sir Thomas was also, if he thought fit, to cause Mr. Cole, of whom he had reason to complain during his former visit, to be sent to England to answer for

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his conduct to His Majesty. To the Government of Algiers a letter was also addressed, stating that the Admiral had been ordered to return to demand speedy and effectual restitution of the vessels, goods and persons at any time taken since the last peace, and to obtain reparation for the spoils and depredations committed upon his subjects, in their persons, ships and goods, by Algerine men-of-war.

This expedition was no more successful than the previous one. Sir Thomas arrived at Algiers on August 31, 1669, and next morning he sent the King's letter on shore.

On September 5 he made his final demands on the Government of the Regency, with an intimation that if they were not agreed to, war would be the immediate result. No satisfactory answer having been obtained, he despatched some frigates, under Sir Edward Spragg, to the westward, to take and destroy all the Algerine vessels they might encounter. In the meantime he confined his own operations to a strict blockade of the port, which seems to have had no result save the imprisonment of the unfortunate consul. On November 3 the latter writes to Mr. Williamson to report that he has been imprisoned in his own house, but that if the King would write and request his liberation, it would be immediately accorded, notwithstanding the war which existed between them. His life had been in great danger, but the Pasha was his friend, and had preserved his person so far. There were about 200 other Englishmen in captivity, and the Regency positively refused

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to accede to any exchange of prisoners. Amongst the Spaniards whose liberation had formed one of the Admiral's demands was one Don Lorenzo Santos de San Pedro; his ransom was fixed at 3,000 pieces of eight, and he seems to have endeavoured to effect it by independent action. Sir Thomas says: 'If that gentleman, or any other of his companions, should be impatient and buy their freedom before we have tried what we can do for them by a war, occasioned chiefly for their sakes, the charge they shall be at cannot be imputed to us, who have done and will do our utmost to procure their liberty for nothing.'

A curious account, in doggrel verse, of the events of this expedition has been given by John Baltharpe, belonging to the *St. David*, flagship of Rear-Admiral Sir John Harman.[1] He had himself passed a year and a half in captivity before being ransomed by his friends. Nothing can give a more vivid picture of the whole operations, which were certainly not such as to reflect either credit or honour on British arms.

. . . . . .

Enough of Tangier, now let's turn our tale,
From thence that night we did set sayl,
Bound up the streights, away we went,
To meet with Algeir Turks was our intent.
We, with our squadron, kept aboard
The Christian shore, upon my word,

[1] *The Straight's Voyage: or, St. David's Poem*, being a description of the most remarkable passages that happened in her first expedition against the Turkes of Argeir. Sir John Harman commander, Rere-Admiral of His Majesty's fleet, beginning May 1669, ending April 1671. By John Baltharpe, belonging to the foresaid ship. London: 1671.

Google

Sir Thomas Allen steers along
Mid-channel with his squadron.
Sir Edward Spragg, with ships of warr,
Did keep along the Barbary shore.
Ther Flaggs, all three agreed were
To meet together at Argeir;
Because these rogues and we did jarr,
To make with them perpetual warr,
We scorn with them to be peace-seekers,
Who are such Rougish peace-breakers.
We sayled the Coast of Spain along,
With ships of warr well man'd and strong;
At length *Alteere*[1] appeared in sight,
Sir *Thomas Allen* and the fleet
That then were with him, they got water,
We some did get presently after;
When we from sea approached nigh,
A boat with water they did hie,
That we might over with them steer
Unto that Pirats' town *Argeir*.
We sayled away, and that same night
Of Spanish Land we did lose sight.
The very first day of September
We saw *Argeir* I well remember;
We came to Argeir roads with hammocks down
Yeds slung, the trumpets they did sound.
Into the Road we steer'd stedde,
All for a stout encounter ready;
Of this same town we took a view,
And thought upon the Rougish crew
That do inhabit in that cell,
The number of them who can tell?
For as you do the streets come nigh,
You scarce can for the press get by,
They march so thick as army were
A going out to some great warr.

[1] Gibraltar.

Google

The Turks they sooth us up with Treaty,
They sooth us up most fine and neatly
Till they have brought about their ends,
And then they care not to be freinds;
Money which they did take away
From the East-Indies man[1] they say
They cannot heple, for he that took
The same away hath them forsook.
The moneys shared amongst three hundred,
How they should get, it's to be wonderd,
Out of the bellies of so many,
And therefore we ain't like to have many.
To some things they would condescend,
To other things they would not bend;
So in conclusion we did jarr
And 'gainst them we proclaimed warr.
On nights in boats upon the waves,
Near shore we lye to take up slaves,
Some boats of corn laden for Argeir,
We took as they the shoar drew near;
One boat I very well remember,
It was about the middle of *September*.
Dark in the night, under the shoar,
As we lay skulking on our oare,
Near to the shoar (as he came creeping)
We boarded him: a woman weeping,
With a young child, sate after on,
The Turks and Moors overboard ran.
We went to fishing then for Moores,
And took them up with blades of oares.
The flesh of some with our boat-hook
We entered, and so up them took.
At last we took up quite so many
That there did not escape us any.
One night as we lay waiting there,
Under the shoar at day appear

[1] The *Morning Star*.

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A fleet of Turkish boats which come,
Thinking our boats to overrun;
For all they were 'bove four to one,
Yet with our muskets we went on,
And stood to it with blunderbus
'Gainst them for all their harquibus.
When the Turks saw us so valliantly
Come on with so much gallantry,
They could not long endure our force,
But straightway turned their backs to us,
And then like cowards ran away
Into the bottom of the bay.
Then out unto their aid did come
A Bricantine well man'd and gun'd;
Indeed of him we stood in fear,
'Cause that he had got great guns there,
Which far over our boats would come,
But our small shot would not reach home.
Captain *Darcy* now espying this,
In *Dartmouth*, which but fifth rate is,
Let slip his cable, and made hast
This Pirate *Bricantine* to bast.
His part he played that self-same day,
Most gallantly without delay;
His guns did at the Turks' boats roar,
Which made them turn their heads ashore;
No trust in Mahomet they had,
Their countenances were very sad.
For fear the weather should faulter them,
The *Dartmouth* she stood off agen;
When they espyed her about,
Down to their boats in a great route
They did them high, thinking to gain
Argeir town, fore that they were tane;
And go they did, rowing close by the shore,
As ever they could do for oare.
Captain Darcy did let her broadsides fly
Amongst their boats perpetually.

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He sent them to *Mahomet's* wherry,
No cause had they for to be merry,
For *Charon* to his *Stygeon lake*
Mahometans do always take.
The ships, forts, castles, all did fire,
At him being moved much to ire;
But he at all was not dismaid,
In their own coin he them repaid,
And gave them shot for shot therefore,
He naught would put upon the score.

. . . . . .

Whilst we lay here, even at noonday,
A Portugall escapt away.
In Garden of his Pateroone
He was a-working about noone;
Our boat he seeing near the shoar,
He straightway did his work give o're,
And was resolved for to dye
Or gaine desired liberty.
Through press of Turkes and Moores he then
Did run with pruning knife in hand,
Most like a valiant man and stout,
And every way did lay about.
By means whereof he free did make
His passage, and we in him take.
Some fifty years of age was he
When thus he gained his liberty,
And was eleven years a slave
Unto a Tagareene base knave.
Now understand, whilst we lay here,
Before this Pirats' town Argeir,
At sea they ships of war had then,
Which harmed much poor merchant men.
Sir *John Harman*, he well known to fame,
Appointed was to guard the same.
His care it was exceeding much
With them he always would keep touch,

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Make easie sayl on nights therefore,
On nights he bore the lights before.
His chickens always who close clings
Under the shelter of his wings,
On dayes perhaps they'l wander, yet keep sight
Of their Rare Admirall if ought them fright,
As oft it hapneth, doth the Ravenous *kite*,
Under her wings they are at night.

. . . . . .

All this time the life of Consul Ward on shore must have been a most unenviable one. He reports on July 15, 1670, that his dragoman had lately been imprisoned and severely chastised, 'they giving him 1,200 blows, which was thought would have been his death. The reason best known to themselves. He is now indifferently well recovered; shall get the Bashaw to order him to be my draggerman, for no one else will accept the employ.'

Notwithstanding the small amount of success which had crowned the efforts of Sir Thomas Allen, it was determined to send him once more against the Algerines, and in June 1670 the Duke of York drew up a scheme[1] for prosecuting the war, and for the disposition of the naval forces in the Mediterranean, 'with submission to Sir Thomas Allen's better choice.' He proposed the employment of two third rates, six fourth rates, two fifth rates, two fireships, and two ketches. The following vessels were selected, and each was to carry twenty-five supernumerary soldiers:—

Mary, third rate.
Revenge, third rate.
Bristol, fourth rate.

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 195, fol. 15–17.

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Hampshire, fourth rate.
Portsmouth, fourth rate.
Dragon, fourth rate.
Constance Warwick, fourth rate.
Nonsuch, fourth rate.
Guernsey, fifth rate.
Pearl, fifth rate.
Little Victory, fireship.
Welcome, fireship.
Deptford, ketch.
Portsmouth, ketch.

In addition to these Sir Thomas was authorised to detain such of the others then on the station as he might deem necessary.

On August 12, 1670, Sir Thomas Allen, being then to the westward of Cape Spartel, met a Dutch squadron of four vessels under Admiral Van Ghent. The latter went on board the British flagship, and after a consultation as to the most likely method of falling in with the Algerine fleet, it was agreed that Van Ghent, with a British squadron under command of Captain Beach, should lie off Cape Spartel, while Sir Thomas, with another, should keep the mouth of the straits between Gibraltar and Ceuta.

On August 12, six Algerine vessels were sighted, chased by the English and Dutch squadron, and forced to run on shore near Cape Spartel. Two of them were set on fire by their own crews. The Christian slaves on board the others successfully resisted a similar course being pursued, and kept the Turks in check until the arrival of Captain Beach. He burnt two more, and the Dutch burnt the remaining two.

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The names of the Algerine vessels were:—The *Flower-pot*, Admiral's ship, 44 guns, 400 men; the *Tigre*, Vice-Admiral's ship, 44 guns, 400 men; the *Leopard*, Rear-Admiral's ship, 44 guns, 380 men; the *Date-tree*, 40 guns, 360 men; the *Shepherdess*, 38 guns, 340 men; and the *Golden Rose*, 38 guns, 330 men. Sir William Godolphin, H.M. Ambassador at Madrid, who reports this action, says:—

These were esteemed the very best ships of Algiers, and were the same that lately engaged the *Advice* and *Guernsey*, and formerly Rear-Admiral Kempthorne, and last year made havock of our New-Foundland fleet. Four of them also put the *Saphire* on shore, and are generally said to import them more than twice that number of any other ships they have. There were taken from on board them 250 Christians of several nations, whereof sixty-two were English. The Turks were slayne in our engagement with them, and drowned in their endeavour to scape to land; and it is thought very few will arrive home through so vast and barbarous a country in which they are to passe.

During this action Sir Thomas Allen, with five or six frigates, was cruizing between Gibraltar and Ceuta, where he chased two Turkish men-of-war, and missed taking one of them by a sudden change of wind. He hath since been in Malaga road, and on the 5th instant (September 1670) sailed thence with the *Bristol*, *Nonsuch*, and a fireship for the Levant, having ordered Captain Beach, with the *Portsmouth* and the *Centurion*, to cross over to Tetuan Bay, and thence along the coast of Barbary as far as Algiers, to meet him there, he himself intending to keep the Christian shore.

Sir William adds that by latest advices Sir Edward Spragg was in Vigo Bay with three frigates, and that an English vessel, the *Lisbone Merchant*, had arrived

at Lisbon. When off the North Cape she met two Algerine ships of 44 and 34 guns, and maintained a fight with them during six hours. The English ship was twice boarded and its mizenmast shot away, but the Turks were repulsed. The captain of the English ship was killed and six men wounded, and it brought into port, as trophies of its victory, a wounded Turk, and a basket of cannon shot which had been picked out of the beams of the vessel, 'most of these bullets bearing His Ma^tes^ mark.'[1]

The English vessels having gained so much more credit than the Dutch at the action off Cape Spartel, our allies thought proper to withdraw, and allow us to complete the work by ourselves.

Immediately after the action, and before it was even known there, Sir Thomas Allen visited Algiers. The Regency refused to make any overtures towards a treaty of peace, and all that he could effect was an exchange of prisoners. The news of the late disaster could no longer be concealed; the rumours brought by Sir Thomas Allen's vessels, which had not been engaged, created so great excitement that the Pasha was afraid to venture abroad, as he was openly accused of being the author of the misfortune, by causing the best ships of the Regency to cruise in company with those that were his private property. He issued a proclamation threatening death to any Moor or Arab and 300 blows to any Christian who dared even to speak of the event.

[1] Letter from Sir William Godolphin. *Rawl. MSS.* A. 99. fol. 13.

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Sir Thomas Allen now proceeded to the Levant, leaving a squadron under Sir Edward Spragg, who had been Lord Sandwich's captain in the expedition of 1662, to watch Algiers and blockade the coast. The Algerine fleet, armed with the best artillery belonging to the Regency, was sent out to meet Sir Edward and give him battle wherever he might be. He did not wait to be attacked, but hearing that they were in the harbour of Bougia, he started at once in pursuit and arrived there on April 30, 1671, having under his command six frigates and three fireships. The enemy were caught in a trap, they could not possibly escape, and the Algerine Admiral determined to beach his ships under the guns of the forts. On the night after his arrival Sir Edward attempted to burn them, by means of his boats, and he would probably have been successful, had not the *Eagle* fireship taken fire and thus given the alarm. The second fireship also was accidentally burnt, so that only the *Little Victory* remained. On the following day the enemy unrigged his vessels and constructed a strong boom across the entrance to the port.

On May 8, Sir Edward drew up his squadron in front of the town, and commenced the attack; the boom was gallantly cut by the ship's boats, when the fireship was taken in and successfully made fast to the stranded vessels, all of which were speedily in flames. They were ten in number, and seven of them were reputed the best in the Algerine fleet. The loss of the enemy from the fire of the British vessels was very great; 360 of the soldiers were

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killed and many of the townspeople lost their lives. The forts were completely silenced and many of the houses in the town were destroyed.

Infuriated at these disasters, the Janissaries rose in revolt and assassinated their Agha. Sir Edward in his report says: 'They carried his head to the Duan openly. The Pasha looking out of his balcony, asking them the reason, they replied that they must have peace with the English.' The Admiral who had commanded at Bougia, Mohammed Tarik, was elected chief, and the title of Dey, which afterwards became so celebrated, was conferred upon him; the Pasha still retained his position, but he lost even the semblance of power. The consul, who appears to have been imprisoned, was set at liberty, his property was restored to him, and an English renegade, 'a great rogue who was the confident and chiefest fomenter and cause of the war,' sought safety in flight.

A treaty of peace was concluded on November 29; the most important articles, the 11th and 12th, of of which were, that upon the appearance of any English man-of-war upon the coast, notice was to be given, and a proclamation made; if any captives should escape afterwards, no claims should be made for them, and all English slaves then in the place were to be liberated at the price they were first sold for; a reduction of port charges was to be made on their redemption, and it was stipulated, as was so often the case before and after, that no English slaves should be bought or sold for the future.

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The redemption of the captives does not appear to have proceeded very rapidly. Mr. John Ward, writing to the Earl of Arlington on October 14, 1672, states: 'This business presents great difficulties, some patrons not inhabiting the city, and their books being kept very imperfectly, their first cost is difficult to ascertain . . . these people here do make it their general complaint that their slaves are not all redeemed, and the governors likewise are much dissatisfied at it, urging it much to me that there may come a general redemption.'

The last letter written by Ward is dated April 18, 1673–4, and the first from his successor was on July 20, 1674. We have absolutely no record of the tragic events that took place within that short period. Two references to them only exist in the correspondence of his successor, the substance of both being that he was cut in pieces in front of the Dey's palace.

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CHAPTER VIII.

CONSULATE OF SAMUEL MARTIN—SIR JOHN NARBOROUGH'S EXPEDITIONS—WILLIAM BOWTELL'S EFFORTS FOR THE LIBERATION OF CAPTIVES—JOHN BOBSON.

1674—1680.

Mr. Samuel Martin joined his post as consul-general about July 1674. Unfortunately he was permitted to trade, and he associated himself with Mr. William Bowtell, a merchant of London, who acted as an agent for the redemption of captives; he got involved in his misfortunes, and lost all the fortune he possessed.

Immediately after his arrival, both he and the Regency addressed letters to the King, stating that the Dey, Governor and even the consul himself, ran great risk from the fury of the soldiers. It had always been the custom among Christian princes to have a general redemption of captives when a peace was proclaimed; Sir Edward Spragg had given them a promise to that effect, and the authorities had been obliged to state in open Divan, that if in four months the captives were not redeemed, their patrons would be free to dispose of them as they pleased, and that peace with England should terminate on November 31.

On September 19 in the same year he informs

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the Lords appointed a committee for the redemption of captives that the people are still exceedingly dissatisfied; the Dey 'blushes to mention' the style in which he has been compelled to write to His Majesty, and the consul, to appease the fury of some, and gain the favour of others, has redeemed five men belonging to the chief persons in the city, 'and it will be absolutely necessary to redeem thirteen others belonging to the Pasha and principal officers of the Court.'

In consequence of these representations, Sir John Narborough, Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, was ordered to proceed to Algiers in H.M.S. *Henrietta*, with instructions[1] to conclude a peace or declare a war. He was empowered to avail himself of the services of any of His Majesty's ships with which he might fall in, and to act according to his own judgment and discretion.

With him were associated, as joint commissioners, Mr. Martin the consul, and Judge Advocate-General Brisbane. Separate instructions[2] were addressed to each as to the manner in which the captives should be redeemed. The commissioners were directed, after they had liberated the slaves, to demand the application of the eleventh article of the treaty, in breach of which the consul had been compelled to pay for three slaves said to have escaped in the *Dover* and *Quaker* ketches, as well as the restitution of the money so paid; but they were 'not so far to insist upon the restitution as to break the peace in

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 214, fol. 86. [2] *Ibid.* A. 185, fol. 347.

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case it be denied.' They were also ordered to ascertain the construction which the Regency put upon the twelfth article, providing for the liberation of slaves; whether or no they deemed the King bound, or only permitted to redeem such of his subjects as should be in captivity; and whether they considered themselves authorised to make slaves of British subjects found on board vessels of a nation at war with the Regency. The commissioners were further authorised to refund to the consul the amount of $1,500 which he had been compelled to pay for the liberation of certain slaves belonging to the Dey, and to give him the sum of 200*l.* over and above his actual disbursements as an honorarium.

The squadron, consisting of the *Henrietta*, *Cambridge*, *Marie Rose*, *Bristol* and *Roebuck*, arrived on December 8, 1674. The Admiral informed the consul that he had $75,000 on board for the redemption of captives, and he begged that he and Mr. Brisbane would take on shore the King's letter and hand it to the Dey. It was well received, and the Dey gave orders that the forts and ships should salute His Majesty's flag, which was answered by all the guns on the upper decks of the British vessels.

On the following day the commissioners set to work to agree with the patrons as to the prices to be paid for their slaves. They met with considerable difficulty, as even the Pasha's books were falsified by the Jewish scribe who kept them, and who put down whatever prices the patrons pleased.

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Finally, by January 1675, the work was completed, and the commissioners forwarded a list of 189 English captives redeemed by them, together with the prices paid for each man's freedom. The total sum paid on this account was $56,248 or pieces of eight, and there was a further sum of $6,052 on account of presents to the Divan, making in all a sum of 62,300 pieces of eight.[1]

These captives were all British subjects, taken under English colours, before the conclusion of the last peace by Sir Edward Spragg.

One of the officers of the squadron, in his itinerary of the voyage,[2] draws a glowing picture of the beautiful country houses, as white as chalk, on either side of the town, with gardens and vineyards abounding in all kinds of fruit and vegetables. Oranges and lemons had only lately been planted, but they produced so abundantly that he 'bought sixty for a royall.' Although it was Christmas they had apples, cauliflowers, roses, carnations, 'and most sorts of ffruights, flowers and salating.'

When the articles of peace were agreed to, salutes were fired from the forts, Mole and shipping, which were returned by all the vessels of the squadron.

The writer bears testimony to the good services rendered by the consul, who was not only prudent, but greatly beloved by the people. In addition to the captives liberated by the commissioners, there were others taken in foreign vessels who would have been left behind had not the seamen and others in the

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 215, fol. 117. [2] *Ibid.* C. 353, fol. 26.

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squadron collected the amount necessary for their ransom. 'Certainly,' he remarks, 'money could not have been more charitably bestowed than in delivering so many poor Christians from the tyranny and stripes of these cruel infidels, and from the temptations to which they were exposed to forsake their God.' One captive actually turned renegade after his release for love of a Turkish woman, 'who are generally very beautiful, carrying charms in their faces and devils in their hearts, being so well versed in witchcraft that whoever they take captive never gets free, till, like Dalila, they not only deprive them of their strength, but all hopes of future beatitude, by causing them to forsake their Redeemer to follow the dictates of an Impostor.'

The writer went on shore and lodged at a banyard, or inn, kept by a Greek captive, where for dinner he had two quarts of wine, two or three plates of meat and vegetables, and poached eggs, for which he paid one shilling; he also enjoyed the luxury of a Turkish bath, which seems to have been very much the same then as it is now in all Eastern countries. He found one advantage, however, which is not usually mentioned by travellers. 'These bathes have such excellent eccoes that they are a great advantage to a good voyce.'

The Algerine Government addressed a letter to Charles II.,[1] dated December 18, 1674, announcing the conclusion of the peace, which, as usual, was to

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* C. 353, fol. 27.

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be perpetual and inviolable; they had only one request to make:—

> Your Majesty knows that we are a military nation. . . . Grace to God you have ships enough, and your mariners cannot want employment therein; therefore we must make it our humble request unto you, that your subjects may be prohibited to embark themselves in any ships but those of your own nation, because our men-of-war fight with any other nation and shall kill your subjects, whose blood we esteem as our own . . . but if any merchants or any of your servants shall be necessitated to take passage on the ships of any other nation, and shall produce your royal pass, or that of any of your Majesty's Ministers, known to your consul, we shall be willing to restore them.

One of the lieutenants on board Sir John Narborough's flagship was Cloudesley Shovel, who afterwards did such good service at Tripoli, became one of our most distinguished Admirals, and was subsequently lost, with all his ship's company, on the rocks of Scilly in 1705. On this occasion he was employed to assist the commissioners in their negotiations, and he figures in their accounts as having received £100 for his services.[1] It cannot be said that the consul's remuneration of 200*l.* was excessive. His position was a most difficult and dangerous one, and in a pecuniary point of view much inferior to that of his predecessors, who received 500*l.* a year as salary, a sum which must have gone a long way when 'ffruights and salating' were so cheap.

In August 1675 he represented to Secretary

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 215, fol. 117.

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Williamson how miserable his condition was for want of supplies, or any means of supporting his position; trade was at a standstill, and his accounts for previous disbursements were unattended to. He makes a most pathetic appeal relative to his actual state and a reference to the unhappy fate of his predecessor.

Necessity now compels me to acquaint your Honour that unless His Majesty will be graciously pleased to support my staggering condition, I can expect no better fare than befell my predecessor, *only he had the fortune to be cut in pieces*, and I may chance to escape with burning, a death that lately befell a brave Genoese merchant. His shipping staying behind the time expected, his creditors, like so many wolves, fell upon him and carried him to the place of judicature, where in a moment they obtained sentence of death for nothing but his debts, which was presently put in execution. Two days after, a rich ship came in to him, but made shift to get away without landing any of her goods. I fancy I am too lean to be roasted, and therefore most humbly beseech your honour to take my deplorable condition into your wise consideration, and represent it to His Majesty, in whose service, if I had a thousand lives, I should be proud to spend them all, but I have no ambition to be one of the noble army of martyrs for want of money.

The question of passes to be carried by European vessels was always a burning one at Algiers. The corsairs had no knowledge of any foreign language, and without some distinguishing mark, such as a consular seal, or some preconcerted arrangement as to the shape of the documents, they could not judge whether or no ships' papers were in proper form. In May 1676 Consul Martin received from His Majesty's

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Government a new set of regulations regarding these passes, limiting the number of foreigners which British vessels were permitted to carry. A false construction of them immediately began to spread amongst the people, who imagined that they would thenceforth be authorised to search British vessels for foreign goods and passengers. A public Divan was called, at which the new passes were exhibited, and it was repeatedly explained that all British vessels provided with them were free to carry foreign goods without molestation. The consul, in reporting this, says that he spares no expense to keep on good terms with the Dey, and Baba Hassan, General of the Camp, who was held in great esteem. The Dey was old and completely under the government of his wife, 'a cunning, covetous *English* woman, who would sell her soul for a bribe.'

On June 26 the consul reported that two English ships had been brought in as prizes by the Algerine corsairs, on account of their having been unprovided with the new passes. One of them, the *Leopard*, had cargo on board to the value of 150,000*l.* On the following day Sir John Narborough appeared with his squadron. He had called at Algiers for provisions, and while he was there another ship, the *Diligence* of London, was brought in for the same reason. Sir John sent three of his captains, Sir Roger Strickland, Carker and Storey, on shore with a letter demanding their release. It was read and discussed by the Divan, but while they were profuse in expressions of willingness to keep the peace, and even consented to deliver

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up the ships and crews, they positively refused to surrender the cargoes. They consented, however, to sign a promise not to interfere with British ships for the future, even without papers, coming from Turkey, the East or West Indies, or any other place beyond communication by means of the ordinary post; and with this the Admiral seems to have been content.

The consul complained bitterly of the affair, and says that 'this is the first disgrace that ever befell us in all the four years' time of my residence here, and in this evil posture the affairs of our nation were left, since which it would be a history to relate the perils and labours I have waded through, and the injuries we have sustained.'

Indeed, the succeeding letters of the consul are full of complaints of outrages on the British flag. On July 21, 1676, he states that the Algerines continue to bring in English ships without passes, alleging their belief that it was His Majesty's desire that they should do so. But a much more serious affair is reported on the 7th of the following month, when a Dutch ship, under English colours, was brought in, and also, to the consul's great astonishment, H.M. ketch *Quaker*, which had been convoying it. He at once demanded satisfaction for this shameful insult, but the Algerines gave him only 'bad words and violence.' They told him that his nation might declare war if it pleased, but it was their intention to take the money in the ship and sell the strangers. The consul declared that this was tantamount to a

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declaration of war on their part. He would at once have begged leave to depart, but, being sensible that a breach at that time would have been unseasonable, he tried all in his power to accommodate matters. At his request a general Divan was held on the 10th, at which he urged the anger of the King at the affront done to his ship, and the satisfaction that he would certainly demand. 'With much disgusto they dismissed me,' says he, and later, they sent to his house the stranger's clothes and money, and $1,400 belonging to Captain Beverly, who commanded the ketch, depositing it there to be taken or left at the consul's discretion.

At first there was a disposition on the part of the townspeople to condemn the behaviour of their Government; but when the squadron which had taken the prizes returned to port, the wrath of the soldiery broke loose on the unfortunate consul, whom they accused of having acted contrary to his King's instructions. His dragoman and broker were seized, and the former was beaten and put in chains. Their passion would soon have cooled, but unfortunately two patrons appeared and made complaints that two of the Dutchmen whom they had bought had made their escape in one of the ships whose release the consul had obtained. They fell upon the consul in open Divan, and would have torn him to pieces had not the Dey and Baba Hassan managed to get him conveyed on board a ship, but they seized his house, put seals on the doors, and turned his family into the street without a lodging. Next day some friends of

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the consul amongst the soldiery and townspeople went to the Divan and asked if war had been declared on England, that its representative was treated with such indignity and injustice; whereupon he was taken back to his house with great courtesy, and the keys were restored to him. The dragoman and broker were released, but the consul was compelled to pay for the slaves that had escaped.

On another occasion the consul had to remonstrate with the Dey for having acted contrary to a distinct promise which he had made; the Dey got into a violent passion, which induced the consul to say: 'If you will not hear my voice you will hear the sound of my master's cannon.' The Dey raised his dagger to strike, and called the guards to seize him, declaring that he had threatened his life. The consul nearly shared the fate of his predecessor, when Baba Hassan hearing the dispute interposed and saved him.

On a subsequent occasion he addressed a report[1] to the Earl of Dartmouth, recapitulating all his proceedings from the time that he assumed charge of the consulate, and the events that gave rise to the late war.

He states that during the past four years he had constantly maintained good relations with the Regency, and had never made a demand in His Majesty's name without obtaining full satisfaction.

About the time that the French made war on the Hamburgers, those people who had been in the habit

[1] Dated October 30, 1677. *Rawl. MSS.* A. 191, fol. 166.

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of trading peaceably with the Barbary States frequently became a prey to the corsairs, whose shipping had greatly increased, and this was indeed their only means of support. The seas also swarmed with English shipping, and the Turks, becoming as desperate in their resolutions as they were in their fortunes, began to take these, especially such as had a considerable proportion of foreigners on board. Such vessels, on proof of their nationality, were always released at the instance of the consul. This greatly exasperated the common people, and his life was often endangered by their hostility, nevertheless by liberal bribes he always managed to secure the favour of the authorities.

The consul maintained that the war against Algiers was waged without sufficient reason, he could have obtained satisfaction for all the grievances we had to complain of, and that it was the acts of hostility committed by Sir John Narborough that infuriated the populace, and compelled the Regency to declare war and make slaves of all the English, amongst whom he was not the least. He alleges that during all his five years' service he never received any remuneration save the 200*l.* before mentioned, 'by which means,' he says, 'I have been forced to take up moneys at interest, and find myself indebted upon the place 1,500*l.*, after the bedd I lye upon is estimated, for which I must perish here in chaynes if His Majesty's gracious bounty and y^r^ Lordship's pitty in recommending the same relieve me not.'

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He concludes his letter by bitter complaints against his personal enemies at Algiers, to whom he attributes all his misfortunes. Several complaints were in fact made against him in England, for grave dereliction of duty and dishonesty, and an Order in Council, dated May 31, 1677, directed the Lords of the Committee for Redemption of Captives to examine and report on the same.

Things rapidly began to get worse. The consul, on October 30, 1677, reports that several small fruit ships had been brought in, and all the people sent to his house. One of the finest of the Algerine vessels arrived much disabled, a great number of her crew having been killed by one of His Majesty's small frigates, and had not a dark and stormy night befriended the Turks, she would certainly have been taken. This corsair with five others had previously destroyed seventeen small Newfoundland ships; she brought in forty-one Englishmen, the rest of the crews remained on board the other vessels, which, there was every reason to believe, had fallen into the hands of the English.

As soon as this became known the consul's house was surrounded; he was summoned to appear before a general Divan, some were for killing him at once, others proposed to put him in chains. It was some time before he was allowed to say a word in his defence, 'which at length put some of them to the blush, and I obtained liberty to lie in my own house.' The clamour of the people, however, was so great that it was decided to unload the prizes at once, in

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spite of the Dey, who would willingly have deferred doing so. The consul adds: 'Their Mole lies still unguarded by booms, so that if our fireships be quick in their work at their first arrival some good success may be hoped for.'

In the following March he reports that more prizes were being brought in every day, and there was none to hinder them, as Sir John Narborough had not been seen by any of the Turks for four months. 'The English are constantly asking where he is, and why he takes no better care of us, for if he did but send his frigate a cruising he might retake all the prizes the Algerines have captured.' He hears that the squadron is all together waiting for more vessels to help them, and then they will come. 'I will engage that two third-rates will beat all the men-of-war the Algerines have.'

The consul was subsequently removed to more strict confinement, where he enjoyed no more liberty than a condemned criminal; yet he did not want good friends among the Turks; they pretended that his imprisonment was to keep him from the fury of the rabble, whose friends and kindred had been slain. The chains had been put up at the Mole, and all the ships, excepting eight, were in harbour. The plague had again commenced to rage among the people, 'this being the third year that contagio hath continued here. Your Honour may easily judge my condition miserable enough, threatened by Pestilence, prisons, chains, furys of Desperadoes, and famine is not far from my door, for God knows it is not seldom

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that I want money to buy bread; all which I value not a rush could I but find the least encouragement from your Honour, and be assured I live in His Majesty's good grace.'

Captain Herbert and Sir Roger Strickland appeared before Algiers, but they did nothing, 'though some think they would gladly have peace with us, the plague being so hot among them.'[1] Mr. Pepys, writing to the Duke of York, says:—

> By a letter I have seen from a slave at Algiers of the 1st April, it appears that he (Sir John Narborough) came before that town the 25th and departed the 29th March, after having sent two of his captains ashore to treat of a peace, but without effect. This only is added by the slave, that had Sir John Narborough staid one day more in the road, those of Algiers had certainly made a peace with him, that Government having, it seems, afterwards expressed some trouble that it was not done.[2]

Mr. Martin ceased to be consul about 1680, but no record exists as to whether he died or was removed from his post.

It has been mentioned that Consul Martin associated himself with Mr. William Bowtell, and shared in his misfortunes.

In addition to the general measures undertaken by the State, private efforts were often made for the liberation of individual captives, and instances are recorded of persons having sold all their possessions in order to secure the freedom of members of their families who had been captured by the corsairs.

[1] *Verney MSS. Hist., MSS. Comm.*, 7th Report, p. 470.
[2] *Cockerell MSS.*

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Mr. William Bowtell, in addition to his regular commerce, undertook to act as agent for effecting such transactions. He was intimately acquainted with Algiers, where he had a branch establishment, and where, indeed, he had himself resided for many years. He was thus able to render great services to humanity, both in purchasing the ransom of private individuals, and in aiding the operations of Government. He appears, however, to have encountered the greatest difficulty in recovering his advances, and both he and his friend the consul became involved in serious pecuniary difficulties.

In a petition [1] to the Lords of the Council, he stated that since the death of his factor, Mr. Raymond, he had, in connection with the consul, undertaken the redemption of several captives to whom their Lordships had assigned divers sums of money; many however remained, and owing to the want of friends or other causes their redemption was neglected, and the money which ought to have been available for this purpose had been diverted to other uses. He proposed that the whole question should be carefully examined, and means taken to free such captives as still lingered in bondage, to which end he would give his cordial assistance.

In a subsequent paper,[2] addressed to the Bishop of London, he renders an account of his proceedings at Algiers, and seeks relief from the serious liabilities he has incurred. He gives a list of 391 captives redeemed by his agent, Mr. Lionel Croft, for most of

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 185, fol. 351. [2] *Loc. cit.* C. 988, fol. 135.

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whom he received the royal bounty of 40*l.* per head, but for a considerable number of them he received absolutely nothing. The sum provided for the redemption of captives was originally 20,000*l.* In 1680 there were above 900 slaves in Algiers, without including about 200 more in the ports of Morocco. The Lords of the Treasury directed that 40*l.* should be allowed to such as could, through the means of their friends, supply the remainder of the sum necessary for completing their freedom, until the entire grant should be exhausted. Thus not more than half the number of captives could be admitted to the benefit of the fund. To supplement it, a book was laid in the council chamber wherein several merchants and others subscribed; amongst these Bowtell himself subscribed to liberate a considerable number, chiefly men from the western ports, such as Bristol and Plymouth. He prosecuted the arduous task he had undertaken, at great expense and much personal inconvenience, including a residence of seven years at Algiers.

He states that after the last war the prices demanded for captives were 50 per cent. greater than on any previous occasion. Formerly the State had paid 50*l.*, 75*l.*, and even as much as 100*l.* a head towards their redemption, and had insisted on a stipulation that they should be sold at the price first paid for them in the market; on the present occasion, however, no such provision had been made, and the owners were allowed to demand whatever sum they pleased.

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That as half the captives in Algiers were not in a position to pay anything, it sometimes happened that a patron having several slaves, some of whom could and others could not contribute towards their ransom, refused to part with any unless all were bought. Thus Bowtell's factor had to incur serious pecuniary liabilities. Had he not done so, and had the redemption been stopped, many captives would have despaired and abjured their faith, while the Turks would have been so incensed that the peace might have been endangered.

That the said factor in 1681 was compelled to pay 375*l.* as satisfaction for part of a debt incurred by Mr. Seth Sothel, who was made captive on his voyage from England to assume the government of Carolina. He promised that this should be repaid as soon as he got to England, but although Mr. Sothel was still Governor of Carolina, Bowtell had never been able to recover more than 120*l.* of it.

The Pasha and Dey of Algiers, having two Englishmen as their slaves, viz. John Cave and Joseph Gill, would not permit any captives that had been freed to embark until their ransom of 250*l.* had been paid, and for these nothing more than 40*l.* each from the public fund was ever returned to Bowtell. Thus he lost 170*l.* on this transaction.

John Russell was a merchant at Algiers, and also freed captives. Amongst others John Neads, of Bristol, applied to him to treat with his patron for his ransom, and pending negotiations Russell engaged that he should not attempt to escape. That very

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day he swam off to a vessel of war. Russell was seized and condemned to pay £2,200, and to be laden with chains till payment should be made. His Majesty King Charles II., upon his petition, ordered Russell 40*l.* for himself, and 40*l.* for Neads, and directed that Admiral Herbert should pay 500*l.* out of the proceeds of Algerine prizes to complete his liberation. This order Bowtell transmitted to his factor, who immediately paid the money, and Russell was set at liberty. But as the prize fund was exhausted, and as Russell soon after died of plague, Bowtell incurred a loss which, including port charges, &c., amounted to 515*l.* That Bowtell's factor further spent large sums in relieving the necessities of freed captives, especially during the years that the plague raged at Algiers. Indeed he redeemed several, who subsequently died of that disease, whereby he lost great sums of money.

That the said factor did, during his residence at Algiers, make daily provision for such captives as were sick or in extreme want, particularly for those who came on Sundays to prayers at his house, a voluntary acknowledgment and testimonial whereof was sent by some of the captives from Plymouth.

That the said factor, partly by the circumstances before narrated, and partly by losses sustained in lading sundry English ships, got into pecuniary difficulties and soon after died, whereby the said Bowtell incurred further loss and damage.

That in the year 1686 an Algerine man-of-war

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visited Harwich, and several Turkish officers went to Whitehall and made an application to the late King James for a supply of provisions. Bowtell, being a person well known to them, was charged with their entertainment. He moreover purchased the freedom of five Englishmen, and gave the Turkish captain bills on his factor for the amount of their ransom. For all this he never received anything.

Bowtell further complains that he had spent upwards of 100*l.* on postage, being at the rate of 5*s.* per ounce. All of which circumstances he humbly hopes their Lordships will be pleased to take into their due consideration.

In May 1687 Bowtell sent the ship *Asia Minor*, Stephen Appleby master, to Algiers, laden with merchandise to the value of 2,500*l.*, with orders to his factor to sell the cargo and apply the proceeds to the redemption of such captives as might still remain there. The goods were seized by the Government on account of the debts due by Croft, so that Bowtell lost the whole, and not a single captive was released. His vessel remained out seventeen months without gaining anything; it had cost him 1,000*l.*, and when sold on its return it only fetched 624*l.*

In addition to this loss, which came to 2,500*l.*, the whole loss sustained by Bowtell amounted to 5,800*l.*

Then follows a detailed account of the expenditure incurred by him on account of each captive liberated.

A copy of this document was forwarded to the

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Earl of Nottingham, principal Secretary of State to William and Mary.

It is probable that the claim was allowed, at least in part, as in 1698 we find Bowtell's widow petitioning for the payment of 304*l.* still due on account of her late husband's services, and of this sum 50*l.* was then ordered to be paid.

Another instance of Bowtell's benevolent intervention in effecting the rescue of captives is recorded in a letter from Sir Richard Southwell, who had been Envoy Extraordinary to Portugal in 1665, subsequently clerk to the Privy Council, and five times President of the Royal Society. It is addressed from King's Weston to Mr. Pepys, and is dated May 23, 1687.[1]

It introduces to his notice Captain Spurrill, who had endured a grievous slavery of nine years at Algiers, from which he only escaped by paying a ransom of 400*l.* He was taken at a time when he was not aware of any rupture between Algiers and England, and as he was engaged in carrying provisions for the garrison of Tangier, the Algerines regarded him as being in His Majesty's service, a fact which 'enhanced his ransom and increased his stripes.' Sir Robert Southwell petitioned Lord Weymouth to obtain a grant of 200*l.* for him out of Sir William Coventry's legacy, to enable his friends to complete the sum required for his ransom; 'the good Lord, and the Lady his mother, would go no further than their own compassion, and presently sent in the

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 189, fol. 29.

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200*l.* to Mr. Bowtell by which this deliverance has been wrought.' He concludes by saying: 'Now that this poor suffering man is free, if you will thrust him into His Majesty's service, that he may know how to live, I give you my word for it that I will publish your generosity not to my Lord Weymouth alone, but to everybody else.'

In one of the lists of captives redeemed by William Bowtell there exists the name of JOHN ROBSON, for whose liberation the sum of 11*l.* 2*s.* was still due to him. A most remarkable record of this man's captivity has been preserved at Algiers, the only contemporary record of Christian slavery that is known to exist there.

Mr. Arthur Smith Barry purchased a house at Mustafa Supérieur on the death of its owner, an old Mufti, who had resided in it for years before the French conquest. During the progress of the necessary repairs and alterations, a flake of plaster fell off a wall, revealing this inscription, rudely scratched, as if with a nail, on the wet surface:—

JOHN ROBSON,
[WI]TH MY HAND THIS 3TH DAY
JANY. IN THE YEAR
1692.

It is very pleasing to know that this poor captive countryman was eventually restored to his family and friends.

It is but fair to state that most of the English captives were people who had brought this misfortune on

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themselves by serving on board vessels of nations at enmity with Algiers, or by not providing themselves with the necessary Mediterranean passes. Those who could prove themselves only passengers on board were claimed by the consul and generally set at liberty.

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CHAPTER IX.

MISSION OF ADMIRAL HERBERT—CONSULATE OF PHILIP RYCANT—BOMBARDMENT OF ALGIERS BY ADMIRAL DUQUESNE.

1681—1684.

Mr. Martin ceased to be consul about 1680, and in the following year Admiral the Hon. Arthur Herbert[1] made some very judicious remarks as to the appointment of a successor. 'I am very confident,' says he, 'that His Majesty hath been twice, if not thrice, engaged in a war with these people by the misbehaviour of his consuls; and whether for the future it may not be advisable to choose a man of known integrity, capacity and courage, and of some fortune, for the employment, though His Majesty should allow a handsome salary, on which the man so employed may subsist with credit, without being put to the little unhandsome shifts which have so often already drawn the charge of a war on His Majesty; and whether 300*l.* or 400*l.* a year would be well bestowed to prevent so much a greater charge.'

In 1681 Admiral Herbert was cruising against the Algerines, though with no very great success; one

[1] Afterwards the Earl of Torrington.

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considerable ship was taken by him, the *Golden Horse*, of 38 guns, having a crew of 460 men, whereof 70 were Christians; and Captain Cloudesley Shovell took the *Rose*, of 22 guns, with 30 Christians amongst her crew of 100 men. Although the Algerines still declined to parley with him, a great number of the soldiers were disposed for peace, but the warlike counsels of the Dey prevailed.

Herbert represented to the King that in case His Majesty found the war too chargeable, he would then be pleased to consider whether it would not be better to act on the defensive, and instead of pursuing his enemies with fleets, protect his subjects by means of strong convoys. This proposal was referred to the Admiralty for consideration, and my Lords were unanimously of opinion that it was by no means fit for His Majesty to follow such advice. It would be ruinous to trade in general, as the whole commerce of England without the Straits would be at the mercy of the Algerine corsairs. It would not tend to make the Algerines desire peace, as though they might lose prizes by these strong convoys, they themselves could come to no harm, and it would be a shame and reproach to England to confess that it was no longer able to contend against 'seventeen little pirate ships.'

It was therefore determined to carry on the war, and in accordance with his instructions Admiral Herbert returned to Algiers on February 12, 1682. On the following day he sent Lieutenant Churchill on shore with a flag of truce and a letter. He remained

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more than an hour near the Mole, and as no Turkish boat appeared, he was in the act of returning when one came out, and to it he entrusted the Admiral's letter to the Dey. Its contents were to the effect that success against the Algerines at sea had not lessened His Majesty's generous inclination for peace; he had been informed that they also desired it, so the King's fleet was come to treat with them if their propositions were reasonable. Mr. Cole, a merchant of Algiers, who subsequently became consul-general, was sent on board the flagship to communicate the extravagant proposals of Baba Hassan, the Dey. He demanded that all the ships should be sent away and that the Admiral only should remain, upon which, and being assured of a present of 1,000 Turks, and a considerable quantity of powder and shot, he would enter into a treaty. Being desirous of peace the Admiral only made reply that he had no certitude whether Mr. Cole really had orders to make such a proposal, but having written to Government he would await their reply. On the 14th Lieutenant Churchill returned with a flag of truce to the Mole; he was met by a Turkish boat, which told him to be gone or they would immediately fire on him, and that he must never come more—'a proceeding so odd that to this hour I know not what to impute it to, whether the caprice of Baba Hassan or the knavery of Mr. Cole, but having that answer I resolved to sail and endeavour to intercept such of their men-of-war as are still abroad.'

The Admiral learnt that the King's subjects in

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Algiers 'did him much disservice' by flattering the Turks and making them believe that the war was irksome to His Majesty. This raised the price of captives, and the Admiral was of opinion that all His Majesty's subjects not in slavery should be recalled. On March 21, he again sailed for Algiers, 'to try whether they are in better humour than they were at my last being on the coast, which probably they may, for they are a fantastic sort of people and seldom continue long of the same mind.'

On April 11, he reports that he has at length put an end to the war on as good terms as 'the small force and the hardships I have layen under from the Admiralty would well allow of.'

The old right of search 'with a single boat and two sitters only' was still maintained. Another article provided that when any of His Majesty's ships of war should appear before Algiers, public proclamation should be made, to secure Christian captives, and that after that should any escape on board ship they would not be required back again. The treaty contained one article which at the present day excites our profound astonishment; all we can say is that similar terms were agreed to by every European State at that time. It provided that no subject of His Majesty should be enslaved in any part of the kingdom of Algiers; that the King of Great Britain should not be obliged to redeem any of his subjects then actually in slavery, but it should depend absolutely on His Majesty, or on the friends and relatives of the persons in slavery, to redeem such as they

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might think fit, agreeing for as reasonable a price as possible with their masters for their redemption, *without obliging the said masters, against their will, to set any at liberty.*

There being no English consul at Algiers at the time, Admiral Herbert sent one of his officers on shore to act as such, Captain John Neville, of H.M.S. *Bristol.* He remained in that capacity until the arrival of Philip Rycant, who was the first person named H.M. Agent and Consul-General.[1] He was directed to assure the Dey and the Divan of His Majesty's determination to preserve and maintain the treaty, and his hope that they would be careful to avoid all things likely to occasion a misunderstanding. He was instructed, 'upon fair and reasonable occasion,' to endeavour to procure the liberty of such of His Majesty's subjects as shall be slaves there, and at the most moderate rates, 'showing them also what charity and kindness you can during their captivity, but still having a special care that you neither act in nor consent to anything that may be contrary to the known laws and customs of that Government, or that may give them any just cause of complaint.'

Mr. Rycant was no more fortunate than his predecessors had been in maintaining amicable relations with the Regency. Very soon after his arrival, namely on October 18, we find him addressing a letter[2] to Lord Dartmouth, Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Squadron, stating that the Government of Algiers had complained of his having taken

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 257, fol. 67. [2] *Loc. cit.* A. 190, fol. 126.

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two English slaves out of one of their vessels. He explained to them that they were natural born British subjects, who ought not to have been enslaved. The Pasha persisted that they were his lawful slaves, bought by him at Sallee, and that if they were not duly paid for the consul might depart from Algiers, as they were quite ready for war. The consul replied that the English were in as good a position for that sport as he. At last, after a stormy interview, it was decided that the consul should report all the circumstances to the King, as well as to Lord Dartmouth, and if His Majesty should order him to pay the money, he would do so. The consul transmitted a recommendation, that, for the sake of keeping the peace, and on the distinct understanding that no more English slaves should be bought in time of peace, it might be well to pay for these men.

At this time Algiers was in a state of war with France, and the town was twice bombarded by Admiral the Marquis Duquesne. These actions are celebrated in history as being the first occasion on which shells were used on board vessels of war.

The consul reports that 6,000 were thrown into the town, seven or eight hundred persons were killed or buried in the ruins of their houses, and the whole place was thrown into a state of complete disorder. The Janissaries rose in revolt, and on July 9, 1683, Baba Hassan Dey was assassinated, and Hadji Hassan, surnamed *Mezzomorto*, from his death-like appearance, the captain of the galleys, was unanimously

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elected in his stead. The new Dey sent a message to the Admiral threatening that if hostilities were renewed he would blow every Frenchman away from cannons. This threat he actually carried into execution; the Venerable Jean Le Vacher, Vicar Apostolic, who had charge of the Consulate of France, and who for thirty-six years had laboured incessantly amongst the unhappy captives, was dragged to the Mole battery and blown away from a gun. The murder of the consul was followed by that of twenty other Frenchmen, who perished in the same manner. The attack of Duquesne lasted till August 18 and caused great distress in the town. Several other revolts were on the point of breaking out, but Mezzomorto managed to repress them. At last, when all Duquesne's ammunition was exhausted, he was obliged to retire without having obtained all the satisfaction he had demanded.

The new Dey was much dissatisfied with many of the articles in the treaty made by his predecessor with Admiral Herbert, and begged that Lord Dartmouth might be sent with power to alter some of them. At the same time he expressed his desire to be on good terms with the British Government, and offered to supply the garrison of Tangier with any provisions that might be required, only he begged that when any of his boats should land there, the soldiers should be prevented from throwing stones at them as had lately been done.

The question of how best to preserve the peace with Algiers engaged the serious attention of Govern-

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ment, and two papers, bearing date January 2, 1683–4, were read on May 13 in the same year. Both were written at Tangier—one[1] by Captain Neville, of H.M.S. *Bristol*, who had acted for some time as consul at Algiers, and the other[2] by Samuel de Paz.

The substance of the papers is essentially the same. The writers deemed it most necessary, even though we should be at peace with all the corsairs, that a strong naval force should always remain near the Straits of Gibraltar to keep up the credit of the nation, and protect our commerce in the open sea as well as in the Mediterranean. Vessels of war should call as frequently as possible at Algiers to communicate with the consul, and to show the Government that, even though Tangier had been abandoned, the King had still ships in those waters, and that he is always prepared as well to revenge as to prevent a rupture. The last treaty they thought should be revised, and some defects in it rectified. One very pernicious individual, Benjamin Crafts by name, should be expelled, and no English merchants should be allowed to live in Algiers but those who are of known loyalty and true lovers of their King and country. The consul should be allowed to choose his own interpreter, instead of having one forced upon him by the Regency. No foreigners should be allowed to sail under English colours; all ships going south of the Land's End should carry passes; all merchant vessels should allow the Algerines to send boats on board of them 'with one sitter, and to show them

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 257, fol. 21. [2] *Loc. cit.* fol. 23.

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their passes, for they have made complaints that some of our merchantmen have fired at them, and not suffered them to come near enough to speak with and examine them, so that they cannot possibly tell who they are, and, for aught they know, foreigners under English colours.' No Englishmen should be allowed to sail in French vessels, as this gives cause of dissatisfaction to the Regency, who accuse the English of aiding their enemies. British men-of-war should be ordered to treat the Algerines in a friendly manner, and not to fire at them to make them come under their sterns, and not to take Christian slaves out of them.

They lay particular stress on the necessity for having a thoroughly efficient representative at Algiers.

Great care ought to be had in appointing a good and worthy man consul there, the preservation of the peace depending in a great measure on his prudence. His salary ought to be large and his expense in housekeeping proportionable, which will give him an esteem with the people, and enable him the better to appear in his master's service. . . . He should be well experienced in public affairs as well as those of trade. The former, because there are many conjunctures, wherein, unless the consul be very expert, the King's service may highly suffer, as, for instance, upon the Consul of Holland, or any other, endeavouring to obstruct our peace, a thing daily practised by the Dutch, and doubtless will be also done by the French, when they have a peace with those corsairs, both nations endeavouring to get the trade out of our hands; and the latter, because that the consul, being by the articles to do justice between the merchants of the English nation, cannot answer the intent without he understands trade.

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Mr. de Paz gives as a reason why the consul should not trade :—

> The Algerines being a subtil, cunning people, those of the Government will sell him their prizes at easy rates, trusting him some time for the payment, as they used to do in Consul Martin's time, who being thus drawn in by them, when he would urge anything to them in His Majesty's behalf, they demanded their money of him, and locked him up in his house till he had given them satisfaction, and in the meantime the King's service did greatly suffer and was not the least occasion of the Algerines breaking with us at last.

On April 23, 1684, Consul Rycant reports that peace has at length been concluded between France and Algiers, with great demonstration of joy on both sides, and he begs that His Majesty would be pleased to intimate to the Pasha his desire that all Moors importing goods into Algiers in British vessels should pay him a consulage of two per cent., according to the ancient custom of that place and of Turkey in general.[1]

Perhaps it was this grasping demand on the part of the consul that determined the Government to recall him; he says in a letter, dated October 26, that he is trying to get everything in order before the arrival of his successor, as it is His Majesty's pleasure to call him home, he knows not for what offence. On the same day the new consul, Mr. Erlisman, arrived in the *Centurion* frigate, and next morning he delivered to him His Majesty's letters of

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 257, fol. 45.

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revocation, 'which with all readyness I kissed and obeyed, and acquainted the consul with the true state of affairs here.' In one part of the letter His Majesty commands him to depart at once, but having debts and accounts to make, he could not obey without considerable loss. He begs therefore that he may not 'be looked upon with an ill eye.'

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CHAPTER X

CONSULATE OF JOHN ERLISMAN—MISSIONS OF SIR WILLIAM SOAME AND THE DUKE OF GRAFTON—BOMBARDMENT OF ALGIERS BY THE DUC D'ESTRÉES.

1684—1690.

Mr. Erlisman arrived at Algiers as agent and consul-general on October 24, 1684. He had been in some civil employ at Tangier, and the recent abandonment of that place made it necessary to provide for him elsewhere. Charles II. wrote to the Dey particularly begging that he be permitted to choose his own dragoman, and that no other be imposed upon him.[1] His Majesty also expressed a hope that Mr. Erlisman should live in harmony with the English merchants at Algiers, and that they should not plot or scheme against him, as had so often been the case of late, to the great prejudice of the public service. The consul was strictly prohibited from trading, but he was still allowed to engage in the redemption of captives,[2] though he might not take any consulage or duty on such transactions.

Sir William Soame called at Algiers on April 5, 1686, on his way to Constantinople as ambassador.

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 257, fol. 60.

[2] *Loc. cit.* fol. 63.

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A difficulty arose, even before the ship cast anchor, as to the way in which it was to be saluted, the ambassador positively refusing to hold any communication with the shore until His Majesty's flag should receive a salute of twenty-one guns. This was at last conceded and duly returned. Writing on April 5, Sir William reports:—

I have this day concluded everything relating to the peace, though after great heats and eleven days' wrangling. The articles are the same as before, without any alteration,[1] although the Dey insisted very hardly on the following alterations:—

That the salute to the flag should be left at liberty.

That all English passengers taken on board any ships that were enemies to Algiers should be good prize.

That English ships or persons taken by any who were at war with England might be sold at Algiers.

That full satisfaction might be made him for a ship taken by Captain Hastings, which ship was not only an Algerine, but belonged to the Dey himself, and the four Turks who were in her were soldiers of his own. This is certainly true, and though the ship had not passes in due form, yet a little patience in the condemnation of her would have cleared the business.

I have made a concession of the powder formerly supplied to the Dey, finding indeed it was impossible to get anything for it. I have also undeniable proof that when Admiral Herbert made the peace, he promised a considerable present, which the Dey desired might be in gunpowder. In consideration of this the Dey abandons all pretensions to his ship and lading, only I have promised that the Turks taken in her and sold at Leghorn shall be restored; they are mean persons and will not cost above 100*l.* all four.

[1] The text is contained in Hertslet's *Treaties*, vol. i. p. 66.

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Sir William did not go on shore himself, but sent his brother-in-law, Mr. Howe, with the consul, to carry on the negotiations. Of the latter he says :—

I must do the consul the justice to say that I believe him a very discreet man, who has testified both resolution and judgment, and certainly there is need of such an one in this place, as I never yet heard of more violent or more unreasonable people. . For the articles that the Dey desired might be altered, I let him know that I was not come to make a new peace, but to confirm the old one, and that he must not expect that the most powerful and most warlike prince that ever ruled our nation would suffer any diminution either of his own glory or the privileges of his subjects. I found here one Mr. Ransford, a merchant of the Canaries, and one Temple, who were taken in a Spanish ship, they being passengers, and being both condemned and sold for slaves. I insisted positively to have them set at liberty, which I obtained, though with much adoe, they valuing Ransford at a thousand pounds.

The ratification of this treaty was sent by Sir Roger Strickland, commanding H.M.S. *Bristol*, in November of the same year. He says that the authorities gave him all the satisfaction he desired, owning that their corsairs were in fault in coming into the English Channel, and in demanding passes within His Majesty's dominions at sea, from Cape Finisterre northward. They not only begged His Majesty's pardon for the past, but declared that should any of their captains so offend in the future, they would be hanged and their vessels burnt; in short, there appeared no doubt that this peace would

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be kept so long as the government remained in the same hands.[1]

In the following year the Duke of Grafton was sent on a mission to the Barbary States. He arrived at Algiers in October 1687, and on the 6th of that month he forwards to the Lords of the Admiralty an abstract of his demands and the Dey's answer to them, with a translated copy of his letter to the King, not thinking it convenient to send the original by the post. The Regency appeared desirous of keeping the peace, so long, at least, as they continued at war with the French, 'upon which I believe our peace depends, for whenever they make it up with the French, I believe a war with us will quickly follow.'

While the Duke was in the roads seven slaves swam off to his vessel, and another escaped in one of the ship's boats. For the last of these the Duke ordered satisfaction to be made, and the amount of his ransom to be stopped out of the ship's pay; for the others, the matter was provided for in the eleventh article of the treaty, and he trusts that His Majesty will not depart from an article that seems so reasonable and so charitable. The consul adds that the fleet redeemed several other English slaves with their own charity. In the Dey's letter to the Duke he says that all things are now ended according to the articles of peace, and no further demands remain to be made on either side.

I cannot resist trespassing somewhat beyond the limits of my subject to give a very interesting account

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* 189, fol. 265.

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of the attack on Algiers by the Maréchal Duc d'Estrées, who was sent by Louis XIV. to exact retribution for the incessant piracies committed by the Algerines on French vessels. The account is contained in a letter from Mr. Robert Cole (afterwards consul) to Mr. Samuel Robertson, a London merchant, probably his principal, engaged in the Algiers trade.[1] M. Piolle was French consul at this time, but shortly before the attack, he, together with 372 of his countrymen, had been sent to the bagno, and forced to work in chains at the stone quarries. The consulate was temporarily in charge of the vicar-apostolic, M. Montmasson, and both of these suffered martyrdom.

13*th June*, 1688.—There came into the bay three French men-of-war; two of them anchored and the third turned and made for the east. It being the eve of St. John, they fired several great guns at the new castle at *Mount a Foose*[2] to alarm the other fortifications.

14*th*.—The said two ships weighed anchor and stood about a league out to sea, and then returning took up a position nearer the town, whence several Christians have escaped on board.

15*th*.—About 12 o'clock the two ships weighed and stood out to the third one, cruising to the westward.

16*th*.—Came to anchor eight galleys, ten bomb-vessels, nineteen or twenty ships, some *sitheas*, *tartans* and *polacres*, with the ships' boats astern of them under sail, supposed by these people to make their armada greater.

17*th*.—The ships and hoys take up new berths, and the galleys remain close under the shore; the wind E., fresh.

18*th*.—Very fogey. Some boats annoyed the castle at

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 71, fol. 210.

[2] *Temendafust*, now called Cape Matifou.

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Mount a Foose, at whom they fired several shots, and these people say hindered the said boats from watering, but I believe that was not their design there, for the place for watering lies not so far eastward. This day a thing not [before] seen here: at each side of the Round Castle gate horses' tails placed on tall spears, with a very rich flag fronting them, and the bloody flag flying. The galleys, . . . putting out a red flag on the ancient staff of the ship that carries the pennant on the maintop, came into the fleet, and soon after the bomb-vessels laid their moorings to haul in by; the castles at the Mole fired several shots at the boats, which came much nearer the town than they did during the last war.[1] Two of each hoys having hauled in, but not so close as since they are come, fired each a bomb, but it fell short. A Moor made his escape from the galleys, which we took last war, in the *Rose*, Hassan Rais commander, and reports that the shot from the town much annoyed the boats that were lying at their moorings, and that with the shot were killed five Frenchmen and three Moors, in which there may be some truth.

19*th*.—Being at the Pasha's with an English commander, to transact some affairs, news was brought that a boat was coming towards the shore, which, coming nearer, was perceived to make for the English vessel, and calling to them to come to him, was answered by the said English vessel that they durst not, their commander being on shore. So the Frenchmen left a piece of board afloat driving toward the shore and returned to the fleet. The captain of the Mole, perceiving the French boat returning, went on board the English vessel to know what the French had said to them. They replied that they had left something floating on the water. So the captain of the Mole took the English boat and rowed to it with great apprehension of danger, pulling off his turban and putting on a sailor's hat. He found that it was a piece of board with a cane on end and two letters made fast to it, one in Turkish from the slaves on board, and

[1] The bombardment of Algiers by Duquesne, September 1682.

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another in French, not directed or sealed. After these letters had been perused, I and Captain Hobman were sent for by the Pasha, who had in his hand a letter rolled up; he told us that he had received it from on board the French vessel. On opening it I saw eight or ten lines written in a deep hand, and in three or four places the word 'Roy;' at the bottom was a *firm* [i.e. signature], but not plain, so I could not know the general's name. At the left hand of the firm was a seal in ink, about the size of half-a-crown. The Pasha was angry at the manner of receiving the letter, and told me, laughing, 'Have I not done well? here is the answer,' and turning the letter I saw it on the same paper, written on the back in French, with the Pasha's seal to it. He rolled it up again, with a letter in Turkish to the slaves, and desired Captain Hobman to carry it on board, which Captain Hobman promised to do. I know neither the contents of the one nor of the other, but by the message which the Pasha desired Captain Hobman to deliver by word of mouth, I believe it was full of wrath, viz. 'Pray tell the general I understand not his manner of sending to me. If he has aught to say, he may send a flag of truce on shore, which shall not be injured. He expected an armada of 100 or 200 ships, but there appeared only a parcel of hoys and barques, that if he were a man he should come ashore and fight him, cruise the seas, or pass his broadsides on the castles; in such cases your master's subjects remain with their lives, but if you come upon us like thieves in the night with your bombs, the first man at the mouth of a gun shall be the consul, then the Padre Vicaire, and so forward as he thought fit.'

Captain Hobman found the general on board the Admiral's galley at play; when he had ended his game he went down and read the Pasha's letter, which put him into a great passion; he told Captain Hobman that if he were not an Englishman he would hang him for bringing such a letter. When Captain Hobman returned to the shore, I accompanied him to the Pasha; he told how he had delivered the letter and how he had been treated.

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21*st*.—Early came in five bomb-vessels, all the galleys rowing up and down the fleet; the ketches began to play the bombs a little before eight o'clock, and by twelve, when ended, they had fired 102 bombs, with great prejudice to the shops and houses.

The Pasha ordered three Frenchmen to die at the mouth of the great guns; the consul was ready to be made a sacrifice to the Turkish fury, but Ali Rais' buffoon begged his life, so he was returned to the bagno.

The same night Captain Hobman was desired to let his boat carry on board the French [squadron] a letter from the consul. The Pasha would be thought a stranger to the sending of this letter, so it was privately delivered to Captain Hobman by the captain of the Mole, but before I could advise Captain Hobman to carry the letter, I went to the Pasha to know whether it were by his command; he answered yes, but that I should not say aught thereof.

22*nd*.—In the morning the French Consul received an answer, and at four in the afternoon the guardian Pasha brought the answer to my house, and desired that when it was dark Captain Hobman should carry it on board. Captain Hobman received the letter, and when the guardian was gone I went to the Pasha and desired to know whether it were by his command; he gave me several cautions to keep my tongue, and desired that Captain Hobman should deliver the letter. When it was almost dark the captain of the Mole went on board Captain Hobman's ship and told him the Pasha desired him, when dark, to come into the Mole and to take from on board the pontoon Monsieur Mercadier, agent here for the Bastion,[1] and to carry him on board. Marshal d'Estrées called him a thousand dogs. Having given the Pasha his word to return, though importuned by some gentlemen on board to stay, next morning early he came on shore.

23*rd*.—About eight o'clock in the morning the bombs began to play with abundance of vigour, seven ketches being

[1] *The Bastion de France*, a French factory near La Calle. Mercadier was a French renegade, and also acted as dragoman of that nation.

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hauled in and without intermission continued firing till four o'clock on Sunday afternoon, sometimes with six, seven, eight, and nine ketches. After so severe an action I went to town, and am credibly informed that this time 3,000 bombs were fired. The Pasha, seeing how little injury his cannon did the bomb-vessels, was very sparing in the discharging of them.

24*th*.—The consul was fired away at the mouth of a big gun with four other Frenchmen.

25*th*.—In the morning the French made four Turks fast on a raft, and the breeze being east, came ashore dead, having been shot. About eight o'clock, as soon as the sea was smooth, the hoys went again to their sport. Mr. Crafts,[1] one of our nation, covetous of seeing the sport, met with a cross Turk, who with his sword severely wounded him. About five o'clock the E. sea came in, so the hoys hauled off, which so soon as done, the Father Vicaire with four Frenchmen more were brought to the gun, an English renegade having first cut off his ears and nose in a great passion. Captain Hobman was this day ordered to be gone, on the pretence that he gave the French an account of what execution they did to the town, which was very great. No wind, so he cannot get out.

26*th*.—The hoys hauled in, but on account of the sea could do nothing but send three Turks more ashore on a raft; the said Turks were captains, and were choked according to the Turkish manner.

27*th*.—In the morning, about six o'clock, the bombs began to play, and continued till about five in the evening. They did a great deal of spoil at the upper end of the town with 515 bombs.

28*th*.—In the morning, about four o'clock, the ketches came again to their business. This day Captain Hobman sailed to the westward without having ended with his freighter, so expect his return.

[1] Probably the same person as is described by Mr. Samuel de Paz as 'a very pernicious individual.' See *ante*, p. 144; or perhaps the factor of Mr. Bowtell.

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29th.—Till eleven o'clock nine hoys relieved one another, and continued now and then a bomb till Saturday the 30th about ten o'clock. About noon on the same day began afresh, and about four o'clock seven Turks were killed on the Mole with a bomb. In the evening came a letter on shore upon a board, brought near in by a French boat. The said letter was from some Turks, assuring the Pasha that the French were desirous of treating for peace; but the Pasha resolves to know nothing of them, and is frequently saying that when they have fired all their bombs they would be gone, and the Turks are encouraged to believe that there are not many more, and that the French begin to fire stones.

1st July.—Till about noon the hoys played their bombs, relieving each other, having with a great deal of deliberation rested till about four o'clock, but hauled not from their berths. Then a fire began again and continued all night, being very severe between eleven and one, after which now and then a bomb till next day at four o'clock.

I cannot forget one passage. Seven Frenchmen were brought to the castle to be murdered; to save their lives they would have turned Moors; the Pasha told them no, but if they turned Jews they would be saved. They turned Jews, cursed their king and country, and were sent to be instructed in the Mosaic law.

The Pasha pretends this as an affront to the French, but I believe, under the notion of these people turning Jews, the Pasha will sack large sums of money from them under pretence of having saved their lives.

'Tis a hard thing to keep account of the bombs. They have already done such prejudice, that it is said twenty years won't make the town so beautiful as before the French coming. About eight o'clock at night three Algerine galleys returned from cruising, after an absence of thirty-five days. They took a Spanish sithea, but the Christians made their escape.

3rd.—About four in the afternoon the galleys weighed

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and stood to the westward, having struck their masts for the advantage of rowing. Six of the French galleys quickly weighed and rowed away directly north. The Algerines, apprehensive of danger, anchored under the rocks near the Christian burying-place; the French galleys, perceiving this, rowed in near the shore, having with them several boats full of men, which rowed direct upon the Algerine galleys, while those of France lay upon their oars. The Algerines durst not stand it, so made for the Mole; the French galleys, perceiving it, pulled up very hard, but to no purpose, the Algerines being too nimble for them. A few bombs this day. About ten o'clock at night the bomb-vessels were very brisk at their work; and about four o'clock in the morning the Pasha was wounded by a piece of a shell, which split his ear.

4th.—In the morning came to town the Dowlatley[1] with 500 Spahis from Oran; he was saluted by all the guns in the town, and from the forts without. As soon as he came into the Round Castle, they called for seven Frenchmen, whom they killed at the mouth of the guns. All the Algerine vessels in the Mole are sunk. Several bombs in the ships on the stocks, but not much injured.

5th.—The wind very fresh; west all day.

6th.—The French sent their boat towards the shore with a flag of truce, which the town kept off with their guns, so it retired.

7th.—This day I went to view the ruins, which I found far greater than I expected; the streets being narrow, there is no passing. I believe I speak within compass in saying that three-quarters of the town is defaced, and I believe it will never be rebuilt in its former splendour. I saw two bombs this day which weighed 450 pounds each. In all, bombs fired 13,300, French murdered 49.

8th.—The fleet sailed, two ships cruise in sight.

R. COLE.

[1] *Dowlah*, or governor.

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The sequel of this attack was that D'Estrées left without having concluded peace, and this did not take place till September 1689.

Mezzomorto, on being informed by the consul of the expense of this war to France, is said to have replied, 'For half the sum I would have burnt the city myself.' Another saying is attributed to Louis XIV., 'If there were no Algiers I would myself make one,' his meaning being that he would be unwilling to see unrestricted trade in those seas, which could not fail to deprive his maritime subjects of much of their gains.

The peace with France was concluded on September 24, 1689, and on October 4 of the same year Consul Erlisman reports a mutiny of the army which Mezzomorto had sent to Tunis. They would fain have assassinated him, but he fled to Tunis and subsequently retired to Constantinople, where he was made commander of the Sultan's galleys in the Black Sea. Hadji Shaban Khoja was elected Dey. He was a native of Anatolia, about fifty-five or sixty years of age, joyous in his demeanour, but prompt and decisive in character.

Shortly after the accession of William and Mary, the King addressed a letter to the Government of Algiers[1] announcing the fact, and stating his sincere desire to preserve the peace which had been concluded by his predecessors. For that purpose he had authorised Captain George Rooke[2] to proceed to

[1] Dated November 9, 1689. *Rawl. MSS.* A. 449, fol. 9.

[2] Who afterwards took Gibraltar.

Google

Algiers, and in his name to do all such things as might be requisite.

In the instructions issued to Captain Rooke[1] His Majesty stated that he had issued a commission to Captain Henry Killigrew, whom he had appointed to command the Mediterranean squadron, to renew the peace with Algiers, but in case he should not be able to go there, Captain Rooke was directed to supply his place. He was instructed to state that although the previous treaties were considered as still in force, His Majesty was willing to prove the sincerity of his friendly intention by renewing them in his own name by a short instrument referring to previous engagements, especially to that concluded on April 10, 1682, by Lord Torrington, and to the ratification and confirmation of it by Sir William Soame on April 5, 1686. He was to provide himself with the usual presents, but he was not to cause them to be delivered until his business was finished.

In the meantime the consul represented to the Earl of Shrewsbury how anxious the new Dey was to maintain the peace with England, how dissatisfied the people were with the treaty lately forced upon them by France, and how advisable it was that the expected English squadron should arrive to keep up the credit of the nation and to silence the disadvantageous reports circulated by the French.

Something must have occurred to prevent the arrival of the fleet, as on January 14, 1689–90, a new commission was issued to Consul Erlisman,

[1] *Royal MSS.* fol. 6.

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authorising him to conclude the treaty, the negotiations for which had previously been confided to Captain Rooke; this also was frustrated by the consul's death.

On February 8, Mr. Lawrence Wise writes to the Earl of Shrewsbury reporting that on that day Mr. Erlisman died after an illness of two months, leaving the management of his personal affairs to the writer. He did not venture to assume charge of the consulate, but he at once informed the Dey, 'who after he had expressed a moderate sorrow for his death,' said it would be much to his satisfaction if His Majesty would be pleased to let Consul Thomas Baker, lately at Tripoli, supply his place. Mr. Robert Cole also wrote at the same time, each having an evident desire to retain charge of affairs until a new consul should be appointed. The balance turned in favour of the latter, as the Dey wrote to the King that after the consul's death his goods remained in the hands of his servant Wise, but hearing that they were being embezzled and made away with, out of pity for the consul's family he thought it best to put them into the hands of a very just and careful merchant, Mr. Robert Cole, a man very diligent and willing to do any service to his King and country 'and to give me content, and my subjects.'

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CHAPTER XI.

CONSULATE OF THOMAS BAKER, ROBERT COLE, AND SAMUEL THOMSON—CATASTROPHE TO ADMIRAL WHEELER AND HIS SQUADRON—EARTHQUAKE AT ALGIERS.

1690—1728.

Mr. Wise and Mr. Robert Cole continued both reporting to Government, apparently ignoring each other, until June 15, 1696, when Mr. Thomas Baker arrived, bearer of a royal letter and present. The Dey, writing to the King,[1] says that Mr. Baker has been most diligent in ratifying and confirming former treaties, which it is his firm determination to maintain inviolate, but there were one or two small differences which he trusted His Majesty would do his utmost to remove; and as the Dey regretted to see any of His Majesty's subjects in captivity, he begged that he would have the goodness to order their redemption as soon as possible.

Mr. Baker himself, in reporting his arrival and the successful accomplishment of his mission, says that as regards the redemption of slaves His Majesty was not to be bound to any certain time, but they were to be freed at the first convenient opportunity.

[1] *Regal. MSS.* A. 326, fol. 70.

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They were about 120 in number, and, he adds, 'it is both a pity and a dishonour to our nation that they should longer remain under such miserable circumstances as the galleys and other civil servitudes impose upon them.' He feels confident that most of them could be freed at an average of 60*l.* each.

Two years later nothing had been done. On May 16, 1692, the consul reported the final adjustment of the differences between the French and the Algerines, and that the late redemption of 1,200 Spaniards and French causes him great anxiety; the English, 'in their impatience and despair under their yet unpitied miseries, not long since waited to offer violence to me.' At last it appears probable that something may be done. On February 11, 1692–3, His Majesty addressed a letter[1] to the Government of Algiers, stating his intention to send a squadron of men-of-war into the Mediterranean, and assuring him of his friendly sentiments. This was the unfortunate squadron commanded by Sir Francis Wheeler; the consul implores him to hasten his arrival, as he had on board a present for the Dey; not long after he heard the news of his tragic fate.

Sir Francis Wheeler left Cadiz on February 20, 1694, bound for the Mediterranean with a squadron of His Majesty's ships. He put into Gibraltar, where he detached three men-of-war to convoy about thirty merchant vessels to Alicant, Barcelona and Majorca.

On Saturday, March 17, he sailed from Gibraltar, bound up the Straits, the wind being from the north-

[1] *Rawl. MSS.* A. 440, fol. 3.

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west. On Sunday, about 10 A.M., there arose a violent storm, with thunder, lightning and a great deal of rain; it continued all that day and the night following. On Monday the 19th, about 5 A.M., Sir Francis Wheeler's own ship, the *Sussex*, foundered; he and all his men being lost except two Moors. About the same time the *Cambridge*, the *Lumley Castle*, the *Serpent*, bomb-ketch, the *Mary*, ketch, and six merchant ships, were driven on shore, and lost on the east side of Gibraltar. Three Dutch merchant ships were likewise cast away, and one of their men-of-war ran aground, but was got off again, much injured. Rear-Admiral Neville, in the *Royal Oak*, and two Dutch men-of-war, with the *Fortune*, fireship, were blown out of the Straits and managed to reach Cadiz.

Of the *Sussex*, all the crew perished except two Moors.

The *Cambridge* had most of her crew saved.

Of the *Lumley Castle*, the captain and ninety men were saved.

The *Serpent* and all on board were lost.

Of the *William*, ketch, all but the master were lost.

Of the *Aleppo Factor*, all were saved but three.

Of the *Great George*, the captain and ninety men were lost.

The *Italian Merchant* lost only three men.

The *Berkshire* and all on board were lost.

Of the *Golden Frigate*, all were drowned but three.

Of the *William*, all were saved but the chirurgeon.

Sir Francis Wheeler's body was found on the afternoon of the 21st.[1]

Mr. Baker's letters about this time are full of

[1] *London Gazette.*

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complaints that no vessels of war arrive to keep up British influence, and to lessen that of the French. He implores His Majesty to advise the Dey to make war on them, and he feels sure that this could be accomplished for £10,000; but 'the money should be sent by a squadron of their Majesties' ships to visit and caress the Government.'

Whenever news of an English victory over the French reaches Algiers, he again urges his request. 'Now or never is the time for their Majesties' squadron to appear with the money to be distributed, without which Turks will not give credit to their Majesties' victories.'

On January 20, 1694, Consul Baker reports that as his period of three years' service will expire on April 3, the Dey is anxious that he should be recalled, and Mr. Robert Cole appointed in his stead. He is no less anxious for this change himself, 'being grown in years and infirm. I am very anxious to return home, and ten years' service of the Crown in Tripoli in the two last reigns will, I presume, be a further argument with your Lordship for it.' But first he suggests that he should be allowed to proceed to Tripoli as Envoy to renew the peace there; he doubts not of his success, for his own sake and that of many old friends. This mission he accomplished very satisfactorily. Before leaving Algiers he had an affectionate interview with the Dey, who wrote to the King expressing a hope that His Majesty would not forget so good and faithful a servant.

Before handing over charge to his successor, he

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had the gratification of reporting that none of His Majesty's subjects, taken under the British flag, remained captives in Algiers, or even in Tunis or Tripoli, except one who refused his liberty, and that the disposition of the Regency towards Englishmen was most favourable.

Mr. Cole, who was appointed to succeed him at the Dey's special request, took over charge on August 10, 1694. He expresses himself sure that his long residence in these parts, 'amongst a rugged and unpolished people,' would enable him to acquit himself to His Majesty's satisfaction. He was unable, however, to deliver His Majesty's letter, as when it reached him the Dey was absent at Tunis with a powerful army, and nothing could be done till his return.

On September 10, 1695, a change of Government took place; Hadji Shaban Dey was murdered by the Janissaries, several new ones were appointed and killed on the same day, and eventually the choice fell on Hadji Ahmed, the poorest, the oldest and the most infirm person they could find, the soldiery declaring that they would no longer be governed by a person of bravery or of administrative ability. Mr. Cole urges the necessity of sending a large present by the first man-of-war bound for Algiers, to be distributed amongst the principal functionaries.

In November a small Algerine vessel had been seized by the Dutch and released by the British Admiral. The latter requested the consul to pay to the Dey the value of several articles which he had taken out of her. The Dey refused to receive anything,

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regarding the conduct of the Admiral as a fresh proof of their Majesties' friendship, and he gave strict injunctions to his commander never to chase British vessels 'in such a manner as to frighten them' under pain of his high displeasure.

On February 13, 1696, Consul Cole reports that on desiring to recall the passes of the *White Horse*, *Rose* and *Pearl*, their commanders insisted on the Dey's continuing the system, alleging that if English ships could sail without passes, all others would do the same, and cruising would be at an end. The Dey in great anger called the consul and accused him of wishing to weaken the good understanding between the King and Algiers. The consul replied that, on the contrary, it was the way to strengthen it; every captain knew that the passes had occasioned the last war, and would doubtless cause another. He reminds the Dey of his promise to annul the passes on the Admiral's return from the Levant. The Dey offers as excuse that he 'had to do with such unruly fellows that what he eat at night he forgot in the morning.' He believes that the reason of the Dey's conduct is 'the slender or no guard His Majesty has in these seas.'

Mr. Cole was generally, but not always, in favour with the Dey. On one occasion he had to make a representation in the matter of a prize that had been made in the time of Ahmed Dey, one of the few who had ever died a natural death; his successor, Baba Hassan, threatened to send him out of the country, remarking that twenty years was too long for any

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one to remain at Algiers—he grew to know too much regarding their affairs. Baba Hassan had soon to leave the country himself; fearing to become the victim of a military revolt, he abdicated and proceeded to Tripoli on board a French vessel.

On April 13, 1699, Vice-Admiral Aylmer visited Algiers and met with a very civil reception. It was agreed that English vessels should be free, without passes for eighteen months, till some method could be devised of furnishing passes throughout His Majesty's dominions at home and abroad, and on August 17 following, a regular treaty was concluded to that effect by Captain Munden, Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, and Consul Cole.

It is unnecessary to refer any further to the particulars of the various treaties; the text of nearly all may be found in the first volume of Hertslet's collection.

The position of Europeans established at Algiers was always a most difficult one; they were in perpetual dread of losing both their property and their lives. They therefore seized every opportunity of showing their satisfaction whenever anything like national rejoicings took place in the Regency. This was an occasion for great rivalry on the part of the resident consuls, especially those of France and England. In November 1700 the Dey gained a signal victory over the Tunisians, with whom he had been at war for two years, on which the English consul and the administrator of the Spanish hospital testified their satisfaction by public rejoicings. The French were much dis-

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tressed at this initiative, and a meeting was held at their consulate to concert measures in order to prevent the English from obtaining favour at Court to their prejudice.[1]

On July 27, 1702, Consul Cole reports that the Dutch consul at Leghorn has besought his good offices to incline the Algerine Government to a peace with the Netherlands. As war had lately been declared by Great Britain on France and Spain, and a squadron of British and Dutch vessels was shortly expected, this would be a good opportunity for a Dutch peace if Her Majesty inclined thereto; otherwise it was quite in his power to prevent it.

On July 16, 1703, the consul notified the desire of the Dey to be informed of Her Majesty's successes in the war with France. The consul endeavoured to induce him to break with that power, and proposed that he should persuade the Beys of Tunis and Tripoli to join him. Just as he thought he had gained his point, a French man-of-war arrived with a present of 'very fine ingions for cleaning the mold.' The captain also pressed the Dey to break with England, declaring that the English were a lost people, and that Holland was failing them. These unfortunate dredges seem to have turned the scale to a certain extent, as on the consul's next visit to the Dey, that magnate did not seem so well inclined towards England, but before making up his mind he proposed to await the result of the summer's campaign against the French.

[1] *Archives du Consulat-Général de France.*

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On October 28, 1703, another treaty was signed by Admiral George Byng, by which former engagements were confirmed, and the duties on goods sold at Algiers by British subjects were reduced from ten to five per cent., and regulating the question of passes for vessels built and fitted out in H.M. plantations.

On November 24, 1705, the consul reports the fourth revolution which had taken place during his stay at Algiers. Mustafa Dey was repulsed in his attempt to subdue Tunis, and on his return to within a few miles of Algiers he was strangled by his incensed subjects, 'the common practice of the Turks on the miscarriage of their leaders.' He was replaced by Usine Effendi, who himself was assassinated on August 3, 1710. The majority of the Turks rose against the Dey and his adherents, when after a dispute of three hours the assailants prevailed, and slew the Dey with several of his friends. The late ruler's many crimes and intellectual incapacity rendered him unworthy of his position. His successor was Ali Effendi, a personal friend of the consul's.

A rather serious affair is reported by Mr. Cole on September 24, 1711. An English privateer of 44 guns met a small Algerine cruiser of 14, and fired a gun to make it lower its topgallant sails in honour of His Majesty; the other did not comply, or was unacquainted with the ceremony, whereupon nine guns were fired at him in earnest, and were answered by as many as the Turk could bring to bear. The privateer fired her whole broadside into the Turk, killing seven men and wounding one. The Dey

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was, naturally enough, infuriated at the affair, and threatened to sacrifice the consul and six other Englishmen to atone for his subjects; he was with great difficulty pacified on being assured that steps would be taken to punish the offending commander.

Mr. Cole died on November 13, 1712, and the Dey entrusted the charge of the consulate to Mr. Thomas Thomson, a merchant of the place, who remained in charge till the arrival of his brother on June 29, 1713. One of the first complications after the arrival of Mr. Samuel Thomson was the capture of the *Queen Anne* galley. She was richly laden and had a large sum of gold on board destined for the payment of British troops at Menorca; the men and ship were released, but all the arguments of the consul proved ineffectual to obtain the restitution of the cargo. Several other similar captures occurred, always with the same result.

He also reports that a British vessel, the *Success Pink*, had been seized by thirty-four slaves, who escaped in her. The Dey, in a violent passion, and fearing that the Turks would take his life for not guarding the slaves better, threatened to make the consul and all the factors take their places. He actually did imprison them in their own houses, but, having cooled down during the night, he released them next morning, but he insisted on the consul paying their value.

The brother of the consul and another English merchant were despatched to Port Mahon to beg Sir James Wishart to stop them, should they proceed

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thither. Sir James himself visited Algiers some months later, and by a present of 200*l.* to the Dey and his favourites he induced the former to promise satisfaction for all the English ships demanded, except the *Queen Anne* galley, and all pretensions were abandoned for the thirty-four slaves escaped in the *Success Pink*.

British trade had been declining for many years previously, chiefly owing to the oppression and rapacity of the Government, but partly to the importation of French cloth and serges, which, though inferior to British goods in quality, were of better colour and cheaper. The chief British trade at this time was supplying the Government with military stores, but even in these they were being driven out of the market by the Dutch; the only thing left was the importation of specie to be advanced to the Dey for the payment of his troops, and to be repaid by him in corn and oil, articles in which he permitted no one to trade but himself.

Mr. Samuel Thomson left Algiers on February 25, 1716, bearing a letter from the Dey to the King, acknowledging the letter and presents he had received through Sir James Wishart, and the confirmation of the peace; he left his brother Thomas in charge of the consulate.

The first report that the latter had occasion to make was regarding a terrible earthquake which began on January 23, at 10 A.M., and continued, with intervals of less than twenty-four hours each, for a whole month The town and country round were in

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a most dismal condition, many houses were thrown down and hardly one remained uninjured; twenty people were killed, and the loss was estimated at a million of dollars. 'The inhabitants own it to be the hand of God upon them for their sins; the priests blame the Dey, and reflect upon his administration, but he thinks that their sins are more crying than his own, or than those of his people, and he has taken the opportunity to displace the Mufti and several Marabouts.'

Frequent letters were received about this time by His Majesty George I. and Secretary Stanhope from 'Otton Sigismond, Baron de Cornberg, gentilhomme du pais de Lunenburg, ci-devant Lieutenant Général au Service de l'Empereur,' making known his captivity at Algiers and imploring that he may be ransomed. He states that he is a subject of the King, his father having served His Majesty for forty-five years, and his uncles, the Messrs. Bülault, being still in his service. He is known in captivity only as Captain Otton, and will need but a simple captain's ransom. He dares not divulge his birth and station, as he would certainly receive 500 blows a day to extort a large ransom.

He states that when passing from Rome to Leghorn, to return to his native country, he was taken by corsairs on July 14, 1716, and brought as a slave here. He is sixty-five years of age, and is at present confined in the Government bagno, loaded with chains, obliged to work, subjected to ill-usage of every kind, and without other nourishment than a

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pound of bread daily. There were fifteen other Germans in the same prison, all subjects of His Majesty.

Mr. Thomas Thomson reports in 1717 that a Spanish frigate captured the British sloop *Diligence*, belonging to Mr. Hudson, a merchant of Algiers, and freighted by some Moors; the cargo and forty Moorish passengers were sold by the captors. As these were protected by British colours and an Admiralty pass, the Algerines demanded restitution at the hands of the consul. As a considerable time elapsed without any reply being received to their representations, the Bey of Oran captured *La Virgen del Rosario*, belonging to Port Mahon, under British colours, which he declared he would keep until his own people taken on board the *Diligence* were released. Women daily besieged the consulate clamouring for their husbands and children, and he was mobbed and abused whenever he was seen in the streets.

The Dey, Ali Pasha, died of fever on March 29, 1718, the second person only who had died a natural death in that office. Mohammed bin Hassan was elected to succeed him.

As Mr. Samuel Thomson had been absent for a very considerable period, without any apparent intention of returning to his post, Government determined to consider it as vacated, and appointed Mr. Hudson to it.

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ALGIERS IN 1749

CHAPTER XII.

CONSULATE OF CHARLES HUDSON—CHARLES BLACK—THOMAS BETTON'S BEQUEST TO THE IRONMONGERS' COMPANY.

1720—1739.

Mr. Charles Hudson, a merchant of Algiers, was appointed Consul-General on January 8, 1720. He had resided nine or ten years in the country, was intimately acquainted with the language, and by his courteous behaviour and generous disposition had rendered himself very acceptable to the chief officers of the Government as well as to the Dey himself. The latter received him very courteously, but lost not a moment's time in warning him that for the future he intended to make slaves of all His Majesty's subjects found without certificates on board a vessel of any nation at enmity with Algiers.

The Dey was assassinated on March 7 by a party of soldiers, in the street, when returning from the harbour, as were also the master of the horse and one of his followers. The assassins designated one of their own faction to succeed him, but the treasurer had got the troops under arms, and the conspirators were killed before they reached the palace. Abdi

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Agha, General of Spahis, succeeded in the Government, to the general satisfaction of the people.

On December 11, 1724, died Mr. Thomas Betton,[1] who by his will left the whole of his fortune to the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers, in trust for certain charitable and educational purposes, one of which was as follows:—'That they do pay one full half part of the said interest and profits of my whole estate yearly, and every year for ever, unto the redemption of British slaves in Turkey or Barbary.'

Of the personal history of Mr. Betton, or of his family, we unfortunately know nothing beyond a few unimportant facts. He was the son of Thomas Betton, citizen and ironmonger of London, and was himself admitted to the freedom of the Ironmongers' Company, by patrimony, on March 17, 1696, but from that period to the time of his death no traces of him appear in the Company's books.

It has been supposed that the motive which induced Mr. Betton to provide so liberally for the redemption of slaves originated in his own experience of the horrors of slavery; but this supposition, though by no means improbable, appears to rest entirely on tradition; all that we really know is, that he was a merchant, and that his operations were chiefly confined to the shores of the Mediterranean.

In 1730 the Master of the Company reported that the clear personal estate consisted of 21,500*l.* in stock and India bonds, and 837*l.* in money, which

[1] *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers.* Compiled from their own records by John Nicholl, F.S.A. Privately printed, 1866.

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sums were afterwards laid out in the purchase of land. The Company paid between 1734 and 1835 the sum of about 21,000*l.* for the redemption of British captives and incidental expenses consequent upon their liberation.

The necessity for such payments naturally ceased after the abolition of Christian slavery by Lord Exmouth, and the accumulated moiety of Betton's estate soon produced a very large sum, which, it is believed, now reaches nearly 10,000*l.* a year. This money has been appropriated for charitable and educational purposes, under authority of the Court of Chancery.

In 1728 Mr. Hudson's health began to fail, and he solicited permission to proceed to France for change of air, leaving the consulate in charge of his partner in business, Mr. Edward Holden, 'a loyal subject of His Majesty, a diligent, capable man, and in all respects qualified for the discharge of the trust.' He died at Montpellier on May 14, 1729, whereon a great struggle arose among the resident merchants to obtain the vacant consulate. A petition signed by thirty merchants was got up in favour of Mr. Holden, whom they truly represented as a man of excellent character, high in favour with the Dey and his ministers and intimately acquainted with their religion and laws. His rival, Mr. George Logie, had originally navigated a Swedish vessel, and had found means, by intriguing with the Jews and by making large presents, to negotiate a peace for that nation, in consideration of which he was named their consul. He was most pertinacious in his endeavours to obtain

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the vacant post; he falsely accused Holden of having offered large bribes to the Regency, and he induced the Dey to write direct to the King begging that he himself might be named. Eventually Mr. Charles Black was appointed from England, but on his arrival Mr. Logie did all in his power to dissuade the Dey from receiving him. He gave out that Mr. Black had been removed from the Cadiz consulate in consequence of a general complaint made by the factory there of his pride and ill-nature. This was insinuated to the Dey as a reason why he should not be received at Algiers, lest he should occasion similar complaints and disturbances there. In fact, even before Black's arrival, Logie publicly stated that he would not be received. On his arrival, and before he came ashore, the Dey sent to ask whether he was bearer of a Royal letter, and understanding that he was not, it was with some difficulty that he was permitted to disembark; and but for the interest of Mr. Holden, who had been acting since Hudson's departure, he would probably have been immediately ordered out of the port. Mr. Holden, however, prevailed on the Dey to admit him to an audience, and then to several others, but what Mr. Black gained at these was immediately cancelled by the barefaced opposition of Mr. Logie. There was at one time some hope that the Dey might be prevailed on to receive him, but Logie carried his point by making His Highness a valuable present of timber, and promising a considerable sum of money should he prevail with His Majesty to make him consul. The Dey easily consented to a proposal

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attended with so much advantage; Mr. Black was ordered off to Mahon in a small barque belonging to Logie, and the latter was authorised to take possession of the consulate till His Majesty's pleasure should be known.

To show how much greater regard the Regency had for the money than for the person of Mr. Logie, the Dey offered to reverse all he had done if Mr. Holden would promise him a larger gratification.

The British Government could not permit its representative to be treated in this manner, and Admiral Cavendish was instructed to proceed with the squadron under his command, and insist on Mr. Black's being received and acknowledged as His Majesty's consul. As Logie no longer dared to continue his opposition, this was effected without much trouble, and Mr. Black landed in March 1730.

The Admiral very nearly failed in his mission owing to a series of misunderstandings. He was invited to an audience in the Dey's private apartment, which was richly carpeted, and into which no one ever thought of entering without removing his shoes. This the Admiral stoutly refused to do, and the interview did not then take place. The presents also which he had brought fell far short of the Dey's expectations, and he was only pacified by the assurance that the King would send him a handsome diamond ring and some marine stores that he required for a large vessel then on the stocks. The Admiral is represented as being somewhat 'close-fisted,' which presumably means that the Algerines were as usual

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most extortionate in their demands. However, they sent on board a supply of provisions for the fleet, and a fine lion for the Admiral, but this he respectfully declined to receive, 'as it would not eat straw.'

Immediately afterwards the Dey determined to send an embassy to England, in spite of Mr. Black's representation of the inconvenience of sending missions so frequently to the British Court, when he was there to receive any representations that His Highness might desire to make. As usual he had his own way; he forwarded by his minister a horse, a mare and two lions, as a mark of his esteem, with a hint that the diamond ring should not be forgotten. The ambassador was received by Mr. Jezreel Jones, of Fetter Lane, who showed him all the respect and attention in his power.

Consul Charles Black in one of his despatches to the Duke of Newcastle reports[1] that on Sunday, February 19, when the master and three sailors of the *St. Antonio*, of Padua, belonging to Port Mahon, came on shore for Divine Service, leaving only two men and two boys on board, eighteen Spanish slaves from the shore made themselves masters of the vessel, and would certainly have escaped had they not run foul of a Government vessel, the crew of which overpowered them and carried them all ashore.

The Dey ordered four of the slaves to have their heads cut off at the gate of the palace, their bodies to be dragged outside the gate Bab-el-oued, and there to be stoned and burnt. The others received from

[1] *Egerton MSS.* 2,52[2].

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five hundred to eight hundred blows of the bastinado, and the Mahon men and boys were sent to labour in chains at the stone carts. The vessel itself was plundered, the sailors who had been on shore were apprehended, but the master succeeded in reaching the British consulate.

The consul proceeded to the palace to demand restitution; the Dey ordered the master to be seized, alleging that he had come on purpose to carry off slaves, and was perfectly aware of what was to happen when he went on shore. 'I feared,' the consul adds, 'he designed to put him to death, or give him the bastinade, upon which I earnestly intreated him to spare the patron, for that he was innocent and English. The Dey was in a great rage and I retired.'

Several petitions were addressed to the British Government about this time by British subjects who had been taken in the war, forced into the service of Spain, and sent to Oran. To free themselves from this miserable service they deserted to the Turkish camp, hoping to regain their liberty through the consul at Algiers. But he refused to recognise them as British subjects, and they still remained 'in a most cruel slavery, without any hope of ever returning to their country again, or of seeing their poor distressed families.' Mr. Stanyford, Ford's successor, took their case warmly up; he believed that they might all be got clear off for 25*l.* or 30*l.* a head. Twelve Englishmen had also been cast ashore at Bougia, nine of

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whom were still in the hands of the Kabyles, who lived in places quite inaccessible to the influence of the Dey, but he hoped, through the assistance of some of the Marabouts, to get them out of their hands at easy rates.

Indeed, complaints began to pour in from all quarters regarding Mr. Black's incompetency, exaggerated and often malicious no doubt, yet sufficiently well founded to decide the Government on recalling him. The Governor of Port Mahon taxed him with failing to procure supplies for the garrison of Menorca. Captain Griffin Austen, master of the *Wheel of Fortune*, complained that when he was compelled to land on the coast near Collo for water, he and one of his men were captured by the Kabyles, who sold them to the Turks there. The Dey ordered their release, but insisted that they should pay the sum (£245) which the Turks had given to the Kabyles. This, Captain Austen thought, was entirely the fault of the consul, who should have insisted on their liberation without ransom. Captain Austen further complained that one day, 'the consul, being in his usual mood (that is, very drunk), abused him foully, and turned him and his son, a young boy eight years of age, out of his house at night, so that they had to go to Logie's house and beg for lodgings.'

He was also accused of not paying for provisions supplied for his own use, and on one occasion the Dey sent for the consul's servant to the market-place and ordered him one hundred blows on the feet

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because he had bought some straw which the consul refused to pay for.

The last letter sent by Mr. Black is one dated June 21, 1738, acknowledging a report of the Queen's death. Shortly after that he was removed from his office, and left in a French vessel for Toulon in February 1739.

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CHAPTER XIII.

CONSULATE OF EDWARD HOLDEN; AMBROSE STANYFORD; AND STANHOPE ASPINWALL—MISSION OF ADMIRAL HADDOCK—CAPTURE OF THE HIBERNIAN REGIMENT—CASE OF THE 'PRINCE FREDERICK' PACKET-BOAT, AND COMMODORE KEPPEL'S MISSION.

1739—1761.

MR. HOLDEN, who had been many years resident in Algiers, and who had acted on the departure of his partner, Mr. Hudson, was now appointed agent and consul-general, and took charge of the office on February 10, 1739; he died on November 25 in the same year. The only event of interest in his short tenure of office was the mission of Admiral Haddock, Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean squadron, to demand the release of British subjects; he was furnished with the usual presents and with an autograph letter from George II. to the Dey.[1]

On the death of Holden, the Dey ordered Mr. John Ford to act as consul, and recommended his permanent appointment, as he was a most efficient person, and had served some time as vice-consul at Oran. Mr. Ambrose Stanyford, however, was nominated to the office, but, owing to the prevalence of

[1] *Egerton MSS.* Brit. Mus. No. 2,528.

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plague at Algiers, he delayed some time at Port Mahon, and did not reach his post till January 30, 1741.

A story is told by Consul Stanyford of an Englishman, slave to a Jew, who with a French slave concerted measures to rob his master and escape on board a French vessel to Marseilles. The Dey sent to the French consul and insisted on compensation being made to the owners. The result was that some of the stolen property was returned from France, the consul gave satisfaction for the rest; a thousand livres were paid for the French slave, but the Englishman was sent back to Algiers, contrary to all the laws of hospitality, 'an action which must stigmatise the French minister with infamy.' Mr. Stanyford went to the Dey to plead the cause of his countryman; he was informed that if it had been any one but an Englishman he would have been hanged, but as it was, he consented to release him for a small sum.

The reigning Dey, Ibrahim Pasha, being an old man, eighty-five years of age, resolved, contrary to all precedent and tradition, to try to establish the Government in his own family. He had no son, but two nephews; he appointed one his successor, and the other treasurer. The Divan did not dare to dissent, and the old Dey retired from the palace to his private house, where he died three days afterwards, very much satisfied that his scheme had succeeded so perfectly. The new Dey was a young man of bold and enterprising genius; his first care was to augment his cruising squadron, and his uniform success obtained for

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him the name of 'The Fortunate by Sea.' During his short reign of two years he took an incredible amount of prizes, and laid all the weaker powers of Europe under contribution to furnish him with naval stores.

He died of an apopletic fit on January 23, much lamented by the people, and was succeeded by the master of the horse, an old man, much venerated by all classes, who had been tutor to his predecessor. He it was who had instilled into the mind of his pupil a love for the marine, and he was now able to advance by his own authority those favourite projects which he could only forward before by his advice.

The story of the 'Hibernian' regiment is vouched for on the authority of the Rev. Thomas Bolton, chaplain to the consulate.

On August 16, 1747, a detachment of this regiment, then in the service of Spain, and previously well known for its romantic zeal in the service of the Pretender, was overtaken by Algerine cruisers on its way from Majorca to the mainland. They resisted the first xebeque that came up until all their powder was expended, whereupon they boarded the enemy and drove the Turks overboard. Another larger vessel now bore down upon them, and they had no alternative but to surrender. One of the Turks cried out, 'You are no Spaniards; if you are not English you are devils.' The party consisted of a lieutenant-colonel, six captains, ten subaltern officers, and about sixty privates; the poor shattered remains of the campaigns in Italy. The three colours of the

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regiment, a cross on a white field, and the arms of Ireland with the inscription *Reggimento di Hibernia*, were flying on the xebeque. Amongst the ladies were Mrs. Jones, formerly Mrs. Joseph Tichborne of Sharfields, with her two young children; her daughter Nancy by the first marriage, now married to Captain O'Reilly, a lady only nineteen years old, but as much esteemed for her virtue and good sense as admired for her beauty; and a maid-servant.

They were carried to Algiers, and one narrator says: 'It is impossible to imagine what these poor creatures suffer in slavery. The little child, not eight years old, is made to bring water and sweep and carry out the dirt, half covered with an old Turkish coat. You may guess what the others undergo!' The chaplain records the following tale of heroic chastity:—

Mrs. Jones was sitting with her youngest child in her arms at the door of the house where she resided, when a Turk came up and began to importune her, giving her the choice of compliance or death. She retreated to an inner room and thence into a loft accessible only by a ladder, which she pulled up after her. The Turk brought the child, and having upbraided, threatened and entreated her by turns, he drew his sword and wounded the infant in one arm. She shrieked, he wounded it in the other; at last he cut off one hand and threw it at her, upon which she seized half of a broken millstone that lay in the room, threw it down upon the Turk and broke his leg.

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He then murdered the child, cut off its head, and discharged his pistols at the woman, but without effect. The latter watched her opportunity, and with the other half of the millstone crushed him in such a manner as to render him insensible. She then descended and despatched him with his own sword, put her mangled child in a basket, and went and delivered herself to the Dey.

I have been unable to trace the sequel of this story, but all previous experience would lead one to conclude that a cruel death was the only fate reserved for a slave who dared to kill or even to strike a Turk.

A very serious affair took place in the month of March 1749. The Postmaster-General was in the habit of employing in his service several vessels to carry letters and packets between Lisbon and Falmouth, which ships bore the King's commission and colours, and were in every respect treated as vessels of war. The *Prince Frederick*, one of these packets, was attacked by an Algerine corsair on her passage to England, and taken, under the pretence that she had no Mediterranean pass on board. She was carried to Algiers, where her treasure, amounting to 25,000*l.*, was plundered and divided amongst the captors and others on shore; but the officers and crew were released, a distinct admission that she had been unjustly captured: these vessels had never carried passes, a precaution deemed both unnecessary and inconsistent with the dignity of the British flag.

The merchants to whom the treasure belonged

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applied for relief to His Majesty, who in consequence directed Commodore the Hon. Augustus Keppel, then Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, though only twenty-four years of age, to demand restitution. He arrived at Algiers on June 29, 1749, in H.M.S. *Centurion*, accompanied by the *Assurance*, *Unicorn*, and *Sea-horse*, and having as a guest on board his flagship Mr. (subsequently Sir Joshua) Reynolds. His negotiations were not brought to a close till June 3, 1751, and proved quite unsuccessful, the Algerines insisting that the packet-boat ought to have had a pass, and also pretending the impossibility of restoring the treasure, as it had long since been divided amongst so many people. It would have been most inconvenient to have gone to war with Algiers at this time, so it was thought prudent to waive the demand for restitution and to rest satisfied with an additional article to the ancient treaties, stipulating that for the future all packets and express boats bearing His Majesty's commission should be treated with the same respect as ships of war.

The Dey as usual came off completely victorious in this diplomatic struggle; his excuse was manifestly false, as he himself, and those immediately around him, had received at least two-thirds of the money, and he had a treasury rich enough to have repaid the whole sum had he so pleased. He had nothing to lose by holding out; he divined that it would not be worth England's while to go to war with him even for this large sum of money, and for so grave an insult to her colours, and he hoped that his cruisers might

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still continue to prey upon her shipping with impunity. It was always easy to visit a vessel, destroy her pass and declare she had none, a course which was habitually adopted.

The last letter written by Mr. Stanyford was dated April 18, 1752; it is a complaint that Mr. Legors, the consular surgeon, had been absent from his post for three years, having 'settled himself in London in the mercantile way.' The consul's health was so bad when Commodore Keppel was here that he left him Mr. Dewar, a surgeon from his own vessel, to whom under Providence he owed his life. Mr. Dewar was now recalled, and he begged that another surgeon might be appointed. A postscript to this letter, by Mr. Robert White, the vice-consul, says that Mr. Stanyford died of apoplexy on the following day. The Dey sanctioned Mr. White's taking charge, but the latter, feeling diffidence in himself, and knowing what important services Mr. Ford had rendered to Commodore Keppel, thought it right to accept his offer of assistance, and would consult and advise with him as occasion might require.

The late consul had been partner in the firm of Stanyford, Jordan and Timberland, of Valencia, which got into commercial difficulties at the breaking out of the Spanish war, so that during all his stay at Algiers Mr. Stanyford had been burdened with debt, which however he was gradually reducing. Serious liabilities still remained at the time of his death. The Dey insisted on the British Government discharging these, and Mr. Aspinwall, before his

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arrival in Algiers, writing to the Earl of Holdernesse, says: 'It is unprecedented for the public to pay such debts, but considering the peculiar character of these people, and the nature of our keeping up harmony with them by presents; the violent maxims they proceed upon, the entire dissonance of their laws, customs, manners and notions from those of other courts, it may perhaps appear in a different light to His Majesty's ministers, and though not reasonable, may be found convenient.'

The amount of his debts was 981*l.*, and as the French had lately paid the debts of M. Durand and the Danes those of Mr. Hamikin, the British Government consented to pay the money now claimed.

Mr. Aspinwall arrived on July 29, 1754, and presented the usual gifts to the Regency.

A month after his arrival a rather delicate case required his intervention. The *Richard and Ann* had been wrecked on the coast some time previously, and her captain and crew made prisoners by the Kabyles, 'who inhabit the mountains, and are almost as numerous as the sands of the sea-shore. They acknowledge no subjection to the Dey, but would, if they had an opportunity, even strip and make a slave of him. In one respect only they differ from many other inhuman wretches on other coasts: they plunder, but do not kill, looking on their captives as so much merchandise.'

This vessel had sailed from Mahon, and was consigned to Mr. Ford and his partner Mr. Cruize, who received a letter from the master, Captain Morris, to

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the effect that they had been robbed of everything, and had been three weeks in captivity, when some Turks came from Djidjelli and made an agreement to take the captain to Algiers to obtain ransom for the whole, undertaking to bring him back if he failed in doing so. The Kabyles demanded sixty sequins for the captain, fifty-two for the mate, and forty-eight for each of the eight sailors. As the customary price given in such cases was only fifteen or twenty dollars, or twelve sequins, this demand appeared to the consul a shameful imposition. When the captain arrived it appeared that he had signed a document agreeing to pay this sum. The consul represented that it could not be held as binding, having been extorted under the fear of death. The Dey admitted that it was extravagant, but as the captain had agreed, it was necessary to pay it. The consul was unwilling to create a precedent that could never be broken through on a subsequent occasion, and he thought it best to send Morris back, and let the Dey arrange for the liberation of the whole party on reasonable terms.

But this course was frustrated by Mr. Ford, who got up a subscription for the captain, and paid the full sum of sixty sequins, thereby rendering it impossible for the others to be freed for a less sum than that demanded, and fixing that as the ransom of all future captives. This Ford he describes as the gentleman who opposed the late consul in everything, and then gave out how little influence the consul had, and what loss it was to the public service

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leaving affairs in such hands. He adds that there are many points in which the views and interests of the consul and the merchant are incompatible. When the consul is anxiously soliciting the restitution of a prize, the merchant is too often desirous of its condemnation, that he may have the opportunity of purchasing, at an easy rate, articles of which the Turks do not appreciate the value. When there is any suspicion of plague, and the consul thinks it his duty not to give a clean bill of health, the merchant inveighs against the consul's precaution, which subjects his vessel to a long quarantine. 'How different,' he says, 'are things in the French consulate! No sooner does a French merchant attempt to meddle in public affairs than he is embarked on board a vessel and sent home.' He complains bitterly that the merchants defraud him of his consular dues, which 'his shattered circumstances' can ill bear. He never had recourse to trade to improve them, as he thinks that a consul who trades may be driven to a kind of infamous traffic, little better than receiving stolen goods. Two years later he says that things cannot go on as they have been doing of late. Ford and Cruize set all order at defiance; 'they will allow the King's consul to have no authority at all, assiduously labouring to discredit him among the Turks, and defrauding him of his dues.' The Dey had to intervene and report the state of things to His Majesty's Government, whereupon Mr. Fox wrote to the consul to point out how disagreeable to the Dey these disputes had become, and to express a hope that he would

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be able to avoid them for the future. Altogether his social relations were very unhappy. 'I have a sad time of it,' he says, 'with my brother consuls; the French one I never visit, nor have I had any communication with him since the war began.'

The machinations of his enemies Ford and Cruize, and what Bruce subsequently styled the cruel and ignominious conduct of the Dey, ultimately prevailed. Aspinwall was recalled, and Ford was appointed consul-general in his stead. The unfortunate consul expresses extreme surprise at first hearing of this from Mr. Cruize at Algiers; he complains bitterly of being superseded without accusation or consciousness of misconduct; he paints in the blackest colours the characters of both his enemies, especially of Cruize, 'an Irish Roman Catholic,' and he says that his pecuniary affairs are in the worst possible condition, while he is 'loaded with a large family, some of the children being young and born here.' Consul Bruce subsequently bore testimony to the uprightness of the unhappy Aspinwall, and stigmatises Cruize as 'a man of infamous character.'

The result of this treatment of Mr. Aspinwall was speedily manifest. Bruce reported that the Dey had declared his intention to change consuls every two years, in order to receive more presents, and to assume the nomination of them himself, as he had done in the case of Mr. Ford. He actually appointed a slave, consul of Venice, refusing to receive the person sent by the Republic, and made a Jew broker, consul of Ragusa.

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Mr. Aspinwall subsequently received a pension of 200*l.* a year.

On December 11, 1754, the Dey was assassinated in his palace, and the treasurer mortally wounded by a party of six Arnaout soldiers, who rushed in while the soldiers' pay was being distributed in the court-yard. One of them, after receiving his money, and taking the Dey's hand to kiss it, according to custom, drew a concealed dagger and thrust it through his breast. The assassins were immediately cut in pieces. Ali Basha, Agha of Spahis, or Generalissimo, was proclaimed Dey, and in one hour's time perfect tranquillity was restored. The late Dey had reigned six years, and had reached the age of seventy-five; the new one was a hale robust man, forty-six years old. He at once issued an order forbidding Moors to wear gold or silver embroidery on their clothes, but not extending this prohibition to women. He was a high favourite with the soldiery and did not attempt to curb their licentious pleasures. In this he was a great contrast to his predecessor, who was a man of very rigid morals, and rarely allowed a week to pass without having some unhappy creatures put into sacks and drowned. This was the Dey who successfully endeavoured to get rid of Consul Aspinwall and to secure the nomination of his friend Ford.

In March 1756 the plague broke out with renewed severity, and a severe earthquake occurred, which destroyed Blidah and buried many people beneath the ruins. As if that were not sufficient, the country was threatened with a famine for want of rain.

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The Europeans were all preparing to retreat to the country to secure themselves from the plague, which was spreading rapidly, but they could not venture to go till the camps should be despatched into the interior, for fear of the insults and outrages committed every day by the soldiery. The consulate in town was surrounded by the plague, so that they heard nothing from morning to night but the dismal groans of the dying and the cries and lamentations of their families.

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CHAPTER XIV.

CONSULATE OF JAMES BRUCE—ROBERT KIRKE—JAMES SAMPSON—THE HON. ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL FRASER—MISSIONS OF CAPTAIN CLEVELAND, COMMODORE HARRISON, COMMODORE SPRY, AND SIR PETER DENIS.

1761—1776.

Mr. Ford, who had acted in 1739, was appointed agent and consul-general, and he wrote out to his partner, Mr. Simon Peter Cruize, to act for him till his arrival. Ford, however, died a few days after his nomination in August 1761, and Mr. James Bruce of Kinnaird, the celebrated African traveller, was appointed to succeed him. His Majesty, in intimating to the Dey the sudden death of Mr. John Ford, whom he *had at the Dey's desire* appointed agent and consul-general, informs him that he had lost no time in fixing upon a proper person to succeed him, and for that purpose he had selected his trusty and well-beloved James Bruce, Esquire, whom by birth and education, as well as by his knowledge and experience, he judged in every way qualified for the trust. Bruce did not arrive till March 19, 1763, a year after his nomination.

In the meantime Captain Archibald Cleveland, commanding H.M.S. *Windsor*, was appointed ambas-

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sador to the three Barbary States, and, having first visited Morocco, he arrived at Algiers on April 20, 1762. He had a most gracious reception from the Dey, who promised to grant any request he might make in the King's name, and who released thirteen slaves, as the only means he had of testifying his regard for the British nation. He seriously recommended the British to co-operate with him in taking Oran from the Spaniards, and offered to make over the port to them as a harbour and place of arms. As usual, he found the presents supplied to him far short of what was expected, and Captain Cleveland was obliged to supplement these with others which he purchased on the spot, to the value of 450*l*. He concluded a treaty confirming previous ones, and allowing vessels of His Majesty to take prizes from the enemy on the coast of Algiers, out of cannon shot from the shore, and to dispose of the same in the ports of the Regency, but no vessels of a Mohammedan prince, even if at enmity with England, were to be taken within sight of the shore. Hardly was this document signed than Commodore Harrison reported to the Earl of Halifax that after conducting H.R.H. the Duke of York to Antibes, he purposed proceeding to Algiers to support the consul, and the dignity of the British flag, which the Algerines were beginning to treat with the utmost contempt.

An instance of this is given by Mr. Bruce. He had occasion to send Dr. Ball, the consular physician, to Port Mahon in charge of important despatches for the English Government. The vessel on which he

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had embarked was boarded by an Algerine boat, in which was the captain of the port, who told him that it was the Dey's order that Dr. Ball should at once accompany him on shore. There was no alternative but to obey, so giving his despatches to the mate, to be thrown into the sea, he accompanied the officer on shore. The British vice-consul was asked to divulge the contents of the despatches, and on his declaring his inability to do so, he was threatened with 1,000 bastinadoes, and only saved himself by fleeing for shelter to the consulate. Mr. Bruce at once informed the Divan that if any obstacles were raised to his sending off the despatches in charge of Dr. Ball he would leave Algiers.

Consul Bruce reported that the very indiscreet conduct of the Vice-Admiralty judge at Gibraltar had raised fresh grounds of complaint, which if not speedily remedied might produce fresh acts of violence or reprisal. Owing to the failure of two harvests Algiers was visited by severe famine, while there was great plenty in Morocco; liberty was accordingly granted for corn to be exported thence, for the use of Algiers, but not to be re-exported to Christian countries. Amongst other vessels the *Experiment* was freighted for this purpose and sailed from Algiers in January 1764. No sooner had she left than, owing to information received from Leghorn, a suspicion arose that the master intended to wreck his vessel for the sake of the insurance; he twice endeavoured to accomplish this, but eventually reached the port of Mamora.

Here he remained many months, spending his time

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in profligacy and refusing to put to sea when the weather was favourable. In August he started, but, contrary to the terms of agreement, and against the wishes of the supercargo, he put into Gibraltar, where he instituted a suit against the supercargo for freight. The judge ordered the latter to find security for payment of freight during all the time that the captain had improperly remained at Mamora, and in failure that the cargo should be sold. The Governor of Gibraltar, convinced of the injustice of this order, forbade the sale within the limits of his command, whereupon the judge ordered it to take place on board the vessel. The supercargo protested, and, leaving the proceeds in the hands of the judge, proceeded to Algiers and represented the case to the Dey and Consul Bruce, who reported it to Government. This created such a bad feeling that anything like an exhibition of friendliness towards the English was viewed with great disapprobation; the Dey's eldest brother was doomed to banishment for no other reason than having visited Mr. Bruce and drunk the King of England's health.

On October 5, 1763, the Treasurer and Prime Minister, who was destined to succeed the Dey, was arrested in his presence and instantly strangled. The crime imputed to him was magic, but the true reason was his having made peace with the Venetians, at a time when the Algerines thought they were already at peace with too many countries. All his relatives and friends were privately put to death.

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Mr. Bruce resigned his consulate on June 16, 1765, in order to carry out the design which alone had induced him to come to the East, namely exploration in Barbary, Syria and Egypt. His travels and researches in Algeria and Tunis have already been sufficiently illustrated by the author in a separate publication.[1]

His successor was Mr. Robert Kirke, who assumed charge on June 17, 1765. Captain Cleveland was again sent on a mission to Algiers, the result of which was very similar to that of all previous ones. Almost every point was conceded by the ambassador, no serious satisfaction was given and absolutely no reparation was made. The only important points settled (on paper) were, first, the explanation of an old article that no British subjects should be bought or sold or made slaves of within the dominions of Algiers, but if taken or found, by sea or by land, within the limits of the Regency, they should be delivered up free; and, second, a new article that no Englishman should be permitted to turn Mohammedan without a sufficient time being allowed him for reflection, three days being fixed as the time to be given.

Mr. Bruce, who though he had resigned the consulate was still in Algiers during Captain Cleveland's mission, says:—

> I knew that nothing could be expected from him beneficial to His Majesty's affairs or agreeable to his consul.

[1] *Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce in Algeria and Tunis.*

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And again:—

Fruitless as this embassy has been in a national light, it has nevertheless been sufficiently profitable to him. Four licences to load corn, which he says are on account of his friends, with horses and saddles for himself, have sent him away perfectly satisfied, and determined to support before your Lordship, demands which the Algerines will not now relinquish.

On January 24, 1766, the Dey was seized with a violent cold and pleuretic complaint, and died on February 2, in his seventieth year, having reigned eleven years and forty days. The Khasnadji or Treasurer, Mohammed Pasha, succeeded him.

Commodore Harrison, Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, came to Algiers in the following month, to offer his congratulations to the new Dey. He called the attention of H.M. Government to the extraordinary conduct of Mr. Kirke, who thought proper to put a stop to the supply of provisions for the King's ships in the usual manner. He adds: 'Mr. Kirke was brought up a litigious limb of the law, and values himself upon having practised his talents in that happy occupation, with success, against every man that business or occasion gave him dealings with.'

On the strength of these representations Mr. Kirke was ordered home to give an account of his conduct, and Mr. Le Gros was named his temporary successor. He, however, 'met with a misfortune which made it impossible for him to execute that employment,' and the last we hear of him is that 'he

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was sitting on his bed, with his sword and a brace of pistols at his side, calling for a clergyman to give him the Sacraments that he may die contented.'

Mr. James Sampson was now sent out, and received charge from Mr. Kirke on May 10, 1767. Before leaving Kirke filed a protest in his own Chancery against Commodore Harrison and his officers for having caused 'not only my great disgrace, but the hurt of my character, the distress of my family, and the almost total ruin of my future.'

Commodore Spry was ordered to proceed to Algiers to introduce Mr. Sampson. At his first audience the Dey declared that unless the consular presents which had formerly been demanded were given, Mr. Sampson should not be allowed to continue at his post. He reiterated his assertion that if they failed to come within three months the consul would not be permitted to transact business, or to have a dragoman. The commodore endeavoured in vain to prevail upon the Dey to open the ports of Arzeu, Azafoun and Rachgoun for the supply of Gibraltar with cattle; all he could induce him to grant was a licence for two vessels to load at Algiers with corn for the Island of Menorca. He was amazed to find that the presents given by his predecessors far exceeded what he had brought from England. Mr. Kirke told him that he must give a much handsomer gift if he hoped to do any business. All which he found to be true, for when he sent his secretary with the Treasurer's present, the latter told him that he would receive it as coming from the King

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of England, but that otherwise it was not worth his acceptance. The Agha and the other great officers of the Court being also out of humour at not having their customary presents of gold watches, &c., the commodore had to promise to send one to each before he could entertain the least hopes of success.

He met with great difficulty in establishing Mr. Sampson in the consulate, as the Dey insisted on keeping Mr. Kirke; but after a great deal of altercation, and upon telling His Highness that his refusal of Mr. Sampson and his detention of Mr. Kirke would be looked upon as a declaration of war, he consented at the last audience to acknowledge the former for three months, after which he should either expect the customary presents, or that some other consul should be appointed. The commodore did not leave for Mahon until he had seen Mr. Kirke safely embarked on board a vessel bound for Gibraltar.

A circumstance that occurred during the course of these negotiations sets in a strong light the disposition of the people. The Arabs inhabiting the mountains near Blidah, having been extremely oppressed and ill-treated, revolted, and refused to pay their annual tribute; upon which an army, commanded by the Agha in person, was sent to coerce them. The Arabs suffered the Algerines to enter their mountains without resistance, but in the night attacked them and with great slaughter obliged them to retreat to their camp on the Metidja plain. As soon as this news came to the Dey, he wrote privately to an officer in the camp, that it was God's will, and his own, that the Agha

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should be put to death immediately. This, though a difficult task, the officer and some of his friends succeeded in doing, by strangling him when they went to his tent, as customary, to kiss his hand and receive his orders for the night. The army was then ordered to disperse and the expedition laid aside for that year, without a Turk or Moor daring to open his lips about the matter.

The envoy from the outset seems to have been very uncourteous towards the new consul. He stayed with Mr. Kirke, and was naturally influenced, to a certain extent, in his actions by him. The vice-consul in his official diary says:—

> His Excellency flew in a passion, took him (Sampson) by the arm, showed him his teeth and basely abused him, saying that he would write home against him, and that if it were consistent with his orders he would take him away and leave Mr. Kirke to act, to which the consul made no reply. Mr. Isaac Mansur said that the ambassador had hit him on both his shoulders and struck him in the face until he caused him to bleed, without any provocation.

It was rather hard that the unfortunate consul should become the victim of Commodore Spry's want of success, and doubly unfortunate that on this, as on every previous occasion, the insolent demands of the Dey should have been accepted so quietly. Lord Shelburne, writing to Mr. Sampson, says that it has given His Majesty great concern and surprise, after the repeated marks of friendship which he has conferred upon the State of Algiers, to hear the disagreeable condition of British affairs there, and

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particularly that the Dey should be swayed by private interest to show so little regard to the honour of his commission in his behaviour both towards Commodore Spry and himself. He had *therefore* given orders to Mr. Fraser, the late consul for Tripoli, to set out directly for Algiers, who would carry with him the usual presents. Mr. Sampson's allowance would cease in a month after the arrival of Mr. Fraser. Surely the consul had some reason to complain of the hardship of his case; he had left his business in London and put himself to great expense, and he prayed that he might be either reinstated or appointed to any other office that might become vacant. The Governor of Menorca was distinctly of opinion that it was Mr. Kirke who, by intrigues and presents, had prepossessed the Dey against Mr. Sampson, and that from private views and pique he had also prevented the island from receiving the supplies that were so necessary for the garrison.

The Hon. Archibald Campbell Fraser was a cousin of the Duke of Argyll, and had formerly been consul-general at Tripoli. He arrived at Algiers on October 16, 1767. He communicated to the Dey that his orders were imperative to insist on a free market for the supply of His Majesty's ships of war, and that the vexatious system of licences should be entirely abolished.

A few months after his arrival Mr. Fraser had to claim the application, for the first time, of the clause of Captain Cleveland's treaty, by which no Englishmen were to be enslaved within the limits of the Regency. Two British captives were brought into

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Algiers and at once lodged in the bagno, heavily chained and put to hard labour. The Dey refused to liberate them without a certificate under the hand and seal of the King that they were what they represented themselves to be. The consul remonstrated that it was quite unusual for sovereigns to enter into such details, and that he was sent expressly to represent His Majesty in all such matters. The Dey did not dispute their nationality, but insisted on the certificate. Mr. Fraser very truly represented to Government that if this point were yielded, constant complaints would arise regarding infractions of the treaties both ancient and modern. The Dey's arrogant reply and his putting these men publicly to hard labour were no doubt intended as a studied insult to England.

The news of the destruction of the Turkish fleet by the Russians having reached Algiers, the soldiers became much excited and began to curse the King of England for not preventing the catastrophe. The consul went to town to complain to the Dey, and on his way there he was met and insulted by three Turks, who however were disarmed by their comrades and made to apologise.

A letter from Algiers, dated August 6, 1772, published in the 'British Annual Register,' contains the following story :—

> A most remarkable escape has lately been effected here, which will undoubtedly cause those that have not had that good fortune to be treated with the utmost rigour. On the morning of July 27, the Dey was informed that all the

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Christian slaves had escaped overnight in a galley. This news soon roused him, and it was found to have been a pre-concerted plan. About 10 P.M. seventy-four slaves who had found means to escape from their masters met in a large square near the gate which opens to the harbour, and, being well armed, they soon forced the guard to submit, and to prevent them raising the city confined them all in the powder-magazine. They then proceeded to the lower part of the harbour, where they embarked on board a large rowing polacre that was left there for the purpose, and passed both the forts. As soon as this was known three large galleys were ordered out after them, but to no purpose. They returned in three days with the news of seeing the polacre sail into Barcelona, where the galleys durst not go to attack her.

The same journal records the escape of forty-six captives employed in a stone quarry, who over-powered their guards and the sailors of the boat in which they were about to put the stones they had extracted, took possession of it, and managed to escape to Majorca.

Another dispute arose between the Dey and the consul. It had always been customary for consuls on entering the presence to kiss the Dey's hand. This Mr. Fraser positively refused to do, and his Government entirely approved of his resolution not to submit to a demand so humiliating, a practice never exacted by any crowned head in Europe. The Secretary of State flattered himself that the knowledge of the real naval power of Great Britain would deter the government of the Regency from a rupture, or from giving any subject of offence which might result in drawing His Majesty's resentment upon it.

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A circumstance now occurred which had the most disastrous effect on our relations with Algiers. Captain Stott, of H.M.S. *Alarm*, called there in October 1773, and was introduced by Mr. Fraser to the Dey, who requested him to give a formal promise that if any slaves should escape on board his vessel they would be delivered up to him. This he of course refused to do; it was for the Dey to prevent a slave's escape; but once on board a British vessel he was free, both by treaty and by the laws of humanity. The Dey seemed to think that the question of protecting slaves was one newly brought up by the present consul, and that if the latter chose, he could persuade the British Government to comply with his wishes, and abandon an article of the old treaties which was obnoxious to him. He informed the consul that if he did not do this he would certainly feel the weight of his resentment; he would at once forbid him to live in the country, deprive him of his sword, and keep him in arrest in Algiers. When he found that Mr. Fraser would not interfere in the matter, he said to him, 'You may go; I have no occasion for you or for any one on the part of England in these dominions.'

The next day His Highness asked Captain Stott to come and see him alone, but this he refused to do. Mr. Fraser thought he had no alternative but to leave Algiers; he accordingly embarked on board H.M.S. *Alarm* with his papers and effects, and proceeded to Mahon.

The Dey gave an assurance that English subjects

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would not be molested, but he declared that he would never see Consul Fraser again. In writing to give his own version of the affair to His Majesty, he says:—

> The consul is a proud and malicious man, and has committed many bad actions. Dear friend of this our kingdom, see what a man he is! I gave him my orders and he was insolent. Such things have passed with him as can neither be written nor expressed. It is not to your honour to send us a man who deserves great punishment. He has at last fled from hence.

On Mr. Fraser's arrival in England, the Government at once addressed Sir Peter Denis, Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, to the effect that it was thought becoming the dignity and honour of the Crown that the consul should be sent back to Algiers. He was therefore ordered to conduct him there with as many of the ships under his command as he could conveniently collect. If he found that the Dey was ready to receive the consul and to give His Majesty the satisfaction he demanded, he was to obtain for him the fullest security for his person, and for the enjoyment of the privileges to which he was entitled. But in the contrary case he was to represent to the Dey that His Majesty could not remain insensible to so unfriendly an act, and he was to return to Mahon or Gibraltar, and transmit a circumstantial account of his proceedings to England by a special frigate.

Sir Peter reached Algiers on April 22, 1774, with His Majesty's ships *Trident*, *Thames*, *Winchelsea*, and *Scorpion*. He sent the Hon. Captain George Keith Elphinstone, of the *Scorpion*, on shore with a letter

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from the King to the Dey; but the latter firmly refused to receive the consul, he alleged that were that officer to land he would certainly be insulted or put to death, and the consequences would fall on his, the Dey's head, for he and Mr. Fraser could not possibly live in Algiers at the same time. Captain Elphinstone replied that if the Dey gave orders for the safety of Mr. Fraser, no person in his dominions would dare to insult or injure him. All was without effect; Sir Denis had to leave Algiers, he took the consul away with him, and sent him to England by the *Thames*, frigate. His Majesty's Government informed Sir Peter Denis that they were perfectly satisfied with the manner in which he had executed his instructions, that they had determined to give the Dey time to reflect, and that they would make no new overtures to him, nor appoint a new consul till he should have proved by his future conduct that he was deserving of the continuance of His Majesty's friendship. Captain Moutray, of H.M.S. *Thames*, was instructed to proceed to Algiers to bring away Mr. Fraser's secretary and Dr. Mack, Surgeon of the Factory, unless they should choose to remain there for their own private affairs. The former was landed at Menorca, the latter proceeded to England. The Dey, as usual, represented the matter to the King in his own peculiar manner: 'My faithful and ancient friend, I cannot avoid telling your Majesty concerning the wickedness of your consul; he is a bad man and is too free with his tongue.' He recapitulates all the civilities he had lavished on Mr. Fraser, and all the causes

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of complaint he had against him, and he prays that the good understanding between the two princes may never fail, 'through the merits of Jesus, and Mary, and the Holy Ghost.' The King, in reply to the Dey, informed him on May 13, 1775, that he had graciously accepted the several excuses he had made, and, having taken everything into consideration, he gave notice that it was his intention to send a person fully qualified in place of Mr. Fraser: 'we shall particularly charge him to conduct himself in a manner agreeable to you, and at the same time to attend to the strict observance of the treaties subsisting between us.'

This letter was delivered by Captain Stott, of the *Alarm*, to the Dey, 'who testified great satisfaction thereat.' It is painful to record such diplomacy; in the interest of truth I am bound to give an abstract of the correspondence which took place, but I abstain from making any comment regarding it. Mr. Fraser subsequently received a pension of 600*l.* a year.

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CHAPTER XV.

CONSULATE OF EDWARD BAYNTUN, NATHANIEL DAVISON, CHARLES LOGIE, CHARLES MACE—MISSION OF SIR ROGER CURTIS—ATTACK OF THE COMBINED SPANISH, PORTUGUESE, AND MALTESE FLEET ON ALGIERS—MISSION OF THE HON. F. NORTH.

1777–1796.

MR. EDWARD BAYNTUN was now transferred from the consulate at Tripoli to that of Algiers. He was instructed to use his best efforts to obtain the free supply of corn for the garrisons of Menorca and Gibraltar, but not to demand licences for any other places.

Of course he had the inevitable difficulties about consular presents. On this occasion it was the captains of the Algerine vessels who were discontented with the cloth which was distributed amongst them; they sent it back declaring it to be good for nothing, and that they must have more of a superior quality. The consul was so vexed at their conduct that he solicited an audience of the Dey to complain of their discourteous behaviour. His Highness sent a message through his own dragoman to say that he would be happy to see him, but that he must not again appear in his presence with a sword, as on the

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occasion of his first interview. The consul would not at first consent to this humiliating restriction, and pushed the matter as far as he dared, but seeing that the Dey was thoroughly determined not to give the point up, and unwilling to do anything that might have the effect of interrupting business, he agreed to go without his sword until His Majesty's pleasure on the subject should be known. The Dey became quite gracious, and the difficulty about the cloth disappeared. The consul had been in a very delicate state of health since his arrival, and now, finding his end approaching, he drew up a public act appointing Mr. John Woulfe, who had accompanied him from Tripoli, to be vice-consul, and 'to take charge of the national affairs should the Almighty be pleased to call me out of this world.' He died on November 1, 1777, and Mr. Woulfe acted till the arrival of Mr. Davison on April 5, 1780.

Mr. Bayntun died much involved in debt; he had given notes of hand to various Algerines for sums amounting to nearly 3,000*l*. The Dey loudly demanded payment: 'Does the King of England send a consul here to rob my people? Do not other nations pay even their merchants' debts when they cannot do so themselves?' There appeared nothing for it; a precedent had been created in the case of the late Consul Stanyford, and these liabilities also were ultimately discharged by the State.

Mr. Nathaniel Davison, who succeeded Bayntun, soon found out what all other consuls had experienced, that nothing but firmness had the least chance of

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succeeding with the Algerines, and that their navy was so contemptible, that, although they kept all Europe in a state of abject submission, two good frigates would be more than a match for any naval force they could bring out. Day after day he had occasion to complain of arbitrary acts on the part of the Dey and his cruisers; four English vessels were suffered to be taken by a French frigate in Algerine waters; a vessel carrying provisions from Genoa for the garrison of Gibraltar was taken and its crew enslaved, and several other of His Majesty's Spanish and German subjects were kept in captivity.

It was evident to the consul that the Dey, under the impression that England was sufficiently embarrassed by the number of her enemies, and perhaps also judging of her weakness by the recent cession of Menorca to the Spanish crown, thought this a favourable opportunity to reduce her to the level of the various other nations who were in the habit of submitting in silence to all the injuries and insults that his avarice or arrogance could suggest. He therefore deemed that he could not better promote the interest of the public service than by hauling down his flag and quitting the place, which he accordingly did in February 1783.

It so happened that at this time Mr. Woulfe returned from Tripoli to Algiers, to set up as a merchant there; he was called upon by the Dey to communicate his complaints to His Majesty's Government, and he suggested that the best course to adopt would be to send a frigate to inquire into the whole circum-

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stances attending Mr. Davison's departure. This advice was acted on, and Captain Sir Roger Curtis was sent as ambassador in November 1783. On his arrival, the captain of the port and Mr. Woulfe went on board; the former desired to know, for the information of the Dey, if he was vested with full powers as an ambassador, or only came as a simple individual to endeavour to arrange the matters in dispute. He replied that His Majesty had conferred the fullest powers on him. On the following day the captain of the port returned to ask if he had brought a letter and the customary presents from the King, for otherwise he could not be saluted as an ambassador or received in that character. He replied that it would be extremely disagreeable to the King if any difficulties or unnecessary delays should arise in the settlement of the business on which he had come; that, as for the presents, they would surely be sent with any consul who might be appointed on the conclusion of the affair. This was accepted as a sufficient assurance, and negotiations began. The first matter in dispute was that of the vessel taken when carrying provisions to Gibraltar, the master of which, Jean Baptiste Podesta, and his crew of eleven men were still detained in slavery. The ambassador felt he could not peremptorily claim them as a matter of right; there was much truth in what the Dey alleged, that in the pass which Podesta had produced from Leghorn, it was distinctly stated that he was a native born subject of Tuscany, that the cargo was destined for Tangier, and that the vessel was navigated under

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the Genoese flag; moreover, the whole crew were Genoese and not British subjects at all, and they had not even a British flag on board. All this was known to the late consul, and he declined claiming the vessel as English; had he expressed any doubts on the subject they would gladly have deferred sentence of condemnation until a communication could have been made to Gibraltar, but under the circumstances of the case they could not reverse their decision.

Although Sir Roger could not demand the release of these unfortunate captives as a right, they were not permitted to languish in slavery; the Ironmongers' Company paid the amount necessary to purchase their ransom out of the Betton trust.

The other matters were more satisfactorily settled. The Dey released without ransom all the other individuals detained in slavery, whose British nationality could be clearly established, and he took leave of the ambassador with an assurance, that, in everything which depended on him, His Majesty might rely on his endeavouring to the utmost in his power to preserve the friendship which had so long existed between the two nations, and that he would always be glad to assist in providing supplies for the garrison of Gibraltar.

Sir Roger expressed his great obligation for the important services that had been rendered to him by Mr. Woulfe, and he charged him with the management of affairs until a new consul should be sent.

On Sir Roger's departure the Dey voluntarily

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liberated a number of English slaves who had been sent in by the Governor of Mascara, and ordered that they should be conveyed to Mr. Woulfe's house. But the latter did not seem to consider the result of the mission as entirely satisfactory. Sir Roger's conduct was 'firm, mild and insinuating,' but 'the Dey's insatiable avarice, with other difficulties, made it impossible to bring so headstrong and intractable a set of people to reason. They are haughty and imperious beyond conception, and should the Spaniards pay us another visit in the ensuing summer, with no better success than the last, this Regency will be absolutely indomitable.'

His Majesty's Government informed Mr. Davison that the reasons he had assigned for withdrawing himself from Algiers were looked upon by the King as sufficient to justify the step he had taken; but it was not thought expedient to send him back, and Mr. Charles Logie was appointed to succeed him.

The unsuccessful attack of the Spaniards, to which Mr. Woulfe alludes, is worth recording, if only to show that every nation of Europe, who attempted to curb the power and arrogance of the Algerines, was quite as unsuccessful as the English and French. On the morning of July 7, 1784, the combined fleet of Spain, Portugal, Naples and Malta, which had been assembled for an attack on Algiers, appeared in the offing. The Spanish Admiral who was in command fired a gun, which was returned by three from the shore batteries, all of which hoisted the Algerine flag. At 6 P.M. the combined fleet anchored in the bay,

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about five miles to the eastward of the town. On the 10th several square-rigged vessels and some gun and mortar boats joined the squadron. On the morning of the 12th the Spanish gun and mortar boats, seventy-five in number, escorted by three xebeques, two cutters and four Maltese galleys, advanced towards the town, and were met by fifty-four Algerine vessels of a similar character. After an interchange of heavy fire for three hours, the allied vessels retired to the shelter of the squadron; the Algerines lost two gunboats and several men killed and wounded by the bursting of their own guns. An explosion in the fleet made it probable that they too had lost a vessel of some kind. At 7 P.M. two Portuguese ships of the line and two frigates entered the bay. Nothing more was attempted till the 15th, when the allied gun and mortar boats were observed in motion; those of the Regency went out to meet them, and an engagement continued from 6 till 9 A.M., when the allied boats again withdrew. Several of the Algerine boats, from their weak construction and great weight of metal, proved so leaky that they had to be hauled on shore and repaired; a few men were killed and wounded, but the exact number was not known. On the 16th the same thing took place, but the distance between the combatants was so great that very little damage was sustained by either side. On the 17th several vessels approached the town unperceived, and threw a few shells into the lighthouse battery, but without any other effect than that of sinking a small cruiser in the harbour

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beyond. So things continued till the 23rd; constant skirmishes took place between the gunboats on either side, but no serious attempt was made on the part of the fleet to engage the batteries on shore, and on that day the whole fleet, taking advantage of a fine easterly wind, sailed out of the bay. The loss on the side of the Algerines was about 250 killed and wounded. Their force engaged was sixty-three gun and mortar boats, of which they lost seven, and twenty-one of their guns and mortars burst.

Mr. Charles Logie, who was now appointed consul-general, was the son or nephew of George Logie, the Swedish consul, whose conduct was so unfavourably commented on during Mr. Black's period of office; he arrived at Algiers in July 1785. Some instructions had to be given him regarding the sword difficulty, and he was told that if appearing before the Dey without a sword was the usual custom of the court, and if the consuls of other European powers conformed to it, it would be very proper that he should do the same.

The plague continued to rage throughout every part of the Regency; it was so fatal that hardly any attacked by it escaped, and although every precaution had been taken by Europeans, it found its way into all their houses, and two died in the British consulate within twenty-four hours after they were attacked.

Mr. Logie was removed from his consulate in 1791 to make room for Mr. Charles Mace, whose uncle had rendered considerable service to his party in recent elections. No reason was assigned for the change, except that His Majesty, being perfectly satisfied with

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Mr. Logie's conduct during his long services in different parts of Barbary, had been pleased to grant him a pension of 400*l.* a year for life or till he should accept office under the Crown. This sum was to be deducted from the salary of his successor, and so eager was Mr. Mace for re-employment that he did not hesitate to accept these onerous conditions. He had been originally a clergyman, but he threw off the gown in favour of diplomacy; he was at one time secretary of embassy at Constantinople, and had lived for several years in countries bordering on the Mediterranean. He appears, however, to have been destitute of any of the qualifications requisite for enabling him to maintain a good understanding with the Regency. He began badly by delaying his arrival at Algiers until January 1794 on account of the prevalence of the plague, the deaths from which at that time numbered about 400 per month.

Mohammed Pasha died on July 13, 1795, and Hassan Pasha, the Khasnadji, was proclaimed half an hour after. He proved even more brutal than his predecessor. Within a month after Mace's arrival the captains and crews of a number of coral boats, manned by Corsican subjects of His Majesty, arrived under a guard from Bona and were ordered to be carried as slaves to the Marine. It appears that after the English fleet under Lord Hood had taken Corsica, the Admiral was in the habit of giving English passes to boats belonging to that island, to enable them to fish for coral on the African coast; a privilege which the French had purchased. The Dey was very wroth,

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called the consul, and ordered him to leave in three days; as, however, he did not at once claim the men in question, his departure was not then insisted on. The Dey had several times ordered Mr. Mace to send away his cook, because he was a Maltese, and as he refused to do so the Dey sent the guardian bashi, or commander of the slaves, into his house, took the cook by force, and sent him, heavily chained, to the Marine; he was subsequently sent away on board the first ship that sailed. The man had not been guilty of any offence, as he had been only a very short time in Algiers, and had hardly ever left the house. When the consul sent to ask the meaning of this proceeding he was told that the country and every thing in it was the Dey's, and if he had any objections he might send the book of treaties and leave the place.

A month after this he ordered Mrs. Woulfe and her daughter to depart without any reason, except that such was his will. Mr. Woulfe was a Jewish convert to Christianity, and had done good service to His Majesty as acting consul-general, in consideration of which the British Government had paid all his debts after his death in 1788.

On August 20, 1795, H.M.S. *Romulus*, Captain George Hope, arrived at Algiers, but received no salute. Mr. Mace took that opportunity to demand that the Dey should deliver up the *Tiger*, an English privateer that had been brought into port some days previously, the crew of which had been sent to work as slaves at the Marine, as security for a claim regarding a cargo of wheat made by certain Jews. The

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consul also protested against the injuries and insults that had been heaped upon him personally. The Dey caused a red flag to be hoisted at the Marine and three guns to be fired, as a declaration of war on England, and he ordered the consul to embark, leaving behind him not only his furniture, but even his clothes and linen. He also ordered the frigate out of the harbour, stating that in forty days his cruisers should take every English vessel they found on the seas. On November 16 the *Romulus* again returned to Algiers with Mr. Mace on board; on its arrival it hoisted a parliamentary flag, and the Dey asked the Swedish consul to go on board and ascertain what she wanted. Next morning one of the officers was sent on shore with a letter, but when the Dey ascertained that it came from Mr. Mace he returned it unopened. He, however, begged that the captain would pay him a visit on shore; this he felt himself unable to do until the usual salutes had been fired in honour of His Majesty's flag. At the instigation of the Swedish consul this was done and returned. After hearing all the Dey's complaints against Mr. Mace the captain informed him that he had no instructions to act in the matter. All he could do was to report the whole circumstances to his Government. The Dey, to show his desire for peace, restored the English privateer and released her crew.[1] At the same time he wrote to the King: 'Mr. Mace being the cause of all these troubles we shall not suffer him to remain in our country. He is fit for a

[1] *Swedish Consular Diary.*

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merchant, but not for a consul. You have many consuls in these parts, as in Italy, Spain, &c.; they are people fit for this business.'

England having now no representative to look after her interests, the Dey requested that all communication with him should take place through the Swedish consul, to whom he said: 'Mace is better suited for looking after goats in Corsica than to be consul of the English in Algiers. You had better not trust him more than he can reckon on his fingers and toes, or he will lose the count of them.'[1]

The Honourable Frederick North, the secretary at Corsica, was sent in H.M.S. *Romulus* to endeavour to arrange matters; he arrived on December 25, 1795, and before January 3, 1796, he reported having 'settled all differences.' The Dey agreed to place the inhabitants of Corsica on the same footing as the rest of His Majesty's subjects; he surrendered the captives belonging to that island, to the number of 195, for a *present*, not a *ransom*, of 31,000*l*., exclusive of presents to the principal officers of his court, amounting to 15,000 crowns. Mr North observes that this sum 'may seem large to Government, but here it is thought inconsiderable, being little more than one-third of what has been paid for the same purpose by any other nation.' The whole cost of Mr. North's mission amounted to little short of 100,000*l*. The re-establishment of Mr. Mace in his office was also insisted on as a measure necessary for the dignity of His Majesty and for avoiding the dangerous prece-

[1] *Swedish Consular Diary*

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dent of the arbitary dismissal of his consuls, but in spite of this stipulation he never rejoined his post.

On July 28, 1796, an English man-of-war arrived with a French privateer of ten guns which she had taken, and in the evening two more men-of-war brought in a xebeque of eighteen guns; the latter was offered to the Dey in consequence of a promise made to him by Mr. North. The Dey sent his master shipbuilder to examine her; she was taken round the bay and found to sail pretty well, but on the whole the opinion of the master shipbuilder was not very favourable. In the afternoon the Dey sent a message to the commander of the squadron that if the English did not like to give him a present of a good vessel they might keep their old and rotten ones to themselves. The frigates might sail when they pleased and take their xebeque with them. The English commander was very irate, and sent an intimation that he would sail next day and blockade the port so that no vessel could either enter or leave it. The squadron anchored off the entrance of the harbour, and this seems to have brought the Dey to his senses, as he requested to see the commander, and agreed to receive the French cruiser instead of the xebeque, and so matters were arranged.[1]

Just as the frigates were leaving the port a sail was signalled on the horizon; one of them went in chase, and the others took up a position to prevent anything entering the harbour. The strange sail and the frigate disappeared behind Cape Matifou, and

[1] *Swedish Consular Diary.*

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in the evening the latter returned without having taken the former. The strange vessel had run on shore near Dellys. She proved to be a polacre of eighteen guns, having on board a son of Baba Ali, who was Dey before Baba Mohammed, the predecessor of the present ruler. He had sailed for Smyrna in a Swedish brig in November of the previous year, whence he went to Constantinople; there he rose high in favour with the Capudan Pasha, and he had now been sent by the Sultan with a valuable kaftan and yatagan for the Dey, besides strong recommendations for himself. He purchased this vessel on his own account, and he was returning in it, with a French captain and crew, when he was chased on shore by the English frigate. He now landed with his presents and proceeded overland to Algiers, leaving his vessel to follow as soon as it could be got off. He entered Algiers by the Bab Azoun, accompanied by the Agha and Khaznadji, and by all the Dey's musicians. The presents were carried on a golden cushion before the ambassador, who rode on a white horse. When the Dey put the kaftan on, twenty-one guns were fired from the Marine and from the vessels in the harbour. The Dey received the congratulations of the public functionaries and of the consuls, but, on account of the plague, the latter were transmitted through their respective dragomans.[1]

[1] *Swedish Consular Diary.*

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CHAPTER XVI.

CONSULATE OF RICHARD MASTERS, JOHN FALCON, RICHARD CARTWRIGHT, HENRY STANYFORD BLANCKLEY—MISSION OF CAPTAIN KEATS, R.N.—CESSION OF THE LA CALLE CORAL FISHERY TO THE BRITISH—PEACE WITH PORTUGAL.

1796—1812.

Mr. Richard Masters was now appointed consul-general, and arrived on November 27, 1796. On his arrival in Algiers he had great difficulties to contend with, to re-establish British influence, and unfortunately he was as little qualified for the task as his predecessor. The penury of his circumstances involved him in pecuniary obligations to a miserable Jew broker, Bensamon, whom he induced the Government to name vice-consul at Bona, but who never joined that post. Of course he had the usual disputes about presents on arrival; the Dey found them short of his expectation, and was particularly surprised at there being nothing for his wife and daughter, a deficiency which Mr. Masters was obliged to supply. Circumstances soon occurred 'which threatened to destroy the harmony' between His Majesty and the Dey. In the month of February 1797, an Algerine frigate returned disabled, and reported that an

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English frigate had attacked her, killed ten of her crew and wounded thirty-seven. Shortly after, an English privateer brought in a Leghorn vessel that had a pass from the Dey. His rage could no longer be restrained; his first impulse was to declare war against England, and had not the news of an important naval victory gained by the English reached Algiers, he probably would have done so. He now made a series of demands on His Majesty's Government, which the consul styles 'a ridiculous exposition of grievances,' and which he thinks were framed for the purpose 'of reducing England to the same state of servility and degradation' as other nations. He insisted on having a speedy reply to his demands, and gave the consul to understand that if they were not complied with, war would be the inevitable consequence. The Duke of Portland wrote to the consul that the injustice and absurdity of the Dey's demands hardly merited a serious answer; if they were again urged he was to reply that the King had displayed great surprise, not to say displeasure, at the contents of his letter. Instructions were also sent to Lord St. Vincent to despatch a squadron to Algiers; this arrived, under command of Captain Thomson, on December 21, 1797. Every argument was used to convince the Dey of the injustice of his demands; he refused positively to give up one of them; the consul declared that if such were the case, nothing remained but for him to leave the country, and he demanded a categorical reply before February 1. The Dey's answer was that if the consul left the country he

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would wait five or six months longer before committing any act of war, but that was all the assurance he could give. The consul therefore prepared to embark with his family on board the *Leander*, but a tremendous gale of wind came on, which continued for several days, and proved fatal to one of the vessels of the squadron, H.M.S. *Hamadryad*. The Dey finding the consul determined to leave, announced his intention of detaining him as a hostage, but 'by remonstrance and some policy' he was permitted to depart. Mr. Bensamon was left in charge of the consulate, and Mr. Masters proceeded to Gibraltar to await His Majesty's pleasure. On his arrival at Cadiz he received intelligence that his enemy, Hassan Pasha, had died on May 15; the new Dey appeared desirous of arranging the misunderstanding with England, and suggested that the consul should return to Algiers. He, however, continued his journey to England; on his arrival he was ordered to return to his post, and was charged by His Majesty with full powers to renew and confirm the treaties subsisting between Great Britain and the Dey. This he did not care to do, and having obtained a more desirable situation elsewhere, he was enabled, through his interest with the Duke of Portland, to obtain the Algiers consulate for Mr. John Falcon, a man of unimpeachable character, who had been his secretary. The Regency made great opposition to Mr. Falcon's being sent amongst them, but notwithstanding their repeated representations that he had rendered himself obnoxious during his residence at Algiers with Mr. Masters, they

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were compelled by the threats of Lord Keith, and the then existing state of affairs in the Levant, to receive him. All this was not calculated to conciliate the good humour of the Regency towards England; still the new consul was well received by the Dey, and had no difficulty in renewing and ratifying the treaty on its ancient footing. He speedily found out that Mr. Bensamon had, for his own purposes, persistently misrepresented the intentions of His Majesty's Government, and had used all his influence to prevent the restoration of a good understanding.

On January 30, 1801, Mr. Falcon gives a list of twenty-three vessels and 266 men under English colours captured by the Algerines during the short time that he had been consul-general; they were employed in carrying provisions to His Majesty's fleet at Malta, and were furnished with passes from Lord Nelson and Governor Ball; all were liberated at his request. In a letter to his brother he says:—

> I leave you to judge what must have been my feelings at seeing myself surrounded by 266 persons, who attribute to me their return to the world, to their wives and children, and to all that was dear to them. I have had hard fighting, but I have succeeded, without costing the Government one farthing. In addition I have been so fortunate as to procure the release of Le Bailey de la Tour St. Quintin, Chevalier of the Grand Cross of Malta, whom the Dey had purchased with money out of his private purse, and for whose ransom he had demanded 30,000*l*. The Chevalier had no claim on His Majesty's protection, but he had been particularly recommended to me by the Duke of Portland.

An embassy was sent by the Dey to England in

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1800, and Mr. Charles Logie, who had formerly been consul-general, was appointed to attend upon it. Their object was to press certain claims against the Government, amounting to about 50,000*l.*: the Regency thought they had a peculiar claim to favourable consideration, seeing that the Dey had lately released so many Neapolitan slaves and a French nobleman, at the request of the consul, whose ransom would represent a sum of about 170,000*l.* The embassy was sent back to Algiers in H.M.S. *Anson*, in October 1801, and an endeavour was made to make them understand that the delay in settling the claims was owing to the absolute necessity which existed for allowing them to pass in a regular manner through the Admiralty courts. The failure of the mission, on its return to Algiers, was attributed entirely to the consul, and he expected the most severe reproaches from the Dey, but instead of that, His Highness treated him with the utmost civility; he observed that every misunderstanding was forgotten, though he still hoped for a favourable result through his instrumentality.

A serious attempt was made to assassinate the Dey and his ministers on Friday, September 18, 1801. While they were at public prayers in the mosque, eight armed men contrived to get into the palace, hauled down the flag, and one of them from the terrace proclaimed himself Dey, offering a reward of 1,000 sequins to whoever should kill the actual ruler, the Khasnadji, and the Jew Busnah. The city was in the greatest consternation; the Dey and his minister

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locked themselves up in the mosque; the soldiery, however, remained faithful, and the conspirators were soon overpowered and cut in pieces. The Dey was about sixty years of age at this time; on his arrival from the Levant as a recruit, the Dey of the period, finding him to be a distant relative, had promoted him to be Khasnadji, or Treasurer. He could neither read nor write, he was a brutal and cowardly man, and was entirely governed by his own Khasnadji, a man of low cunning, but who never lost his temper. A stranger would rely upon his promise and suppose that he had not a better friend or advocate than the treasurer. With these was associated one Busnah, a Jew broker, who had correspondents in every part of Europe, and was able to give the Dey information which he could not otherwise have obtained. His great riches enabled him to gratify the avarice of the Dey, and his greater cunning procured for him in the country itself, the wealth necessary to maintain his power, and he never failed to become a gainer in the settlement of all affairs.

There was but one European merchant in the city at this time; two Frenchmen had lately arrived from Marseilles, but they had not been able to do anything, principally owing to the opposition of Busnah and his partner Baim. The exports were grain, wool, wax, hides, cattle, skins and ostrich feathers, but not a cargo could be shipped without the special licence of the Dey, nor was even a fowl allowed to pass the gates for a vessel in the harbour without his written order. The imports were cloth, calico, silk, sugar,

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coffee, linen, brocades, jewellery, and firearms, and as these Jews were the only purchasers of consequence, they had great ascendency over the Dey and the Regency.

Soon the Dey's behaviour to the consul underwent a change. Through the machinations of these Jews, two of his servants, one a slave belonging to the Regency, and the other a person who had accompanied him from England, were induced to secrete two Moorish women in one of the lower rooms of the house, entirely removed from that part of the building occupied by the consul and his family. Information was given to the Dey, who sent his police officers to seize the slave and the unhappy women; they each received 1,000 bastinadoes, but the English servant escaped and took refuge at the French consulate, from which Mr. Falcon withdrew him as soon as he heard of the occurrence. He sent to the Dey to express his extreme sorrow for what had occurred; he only received for reply that it mattered not whether he were privy to the occurrence or no, he could not be permitted to remain another day in the country. The consul over and over again requested an audience, but it was always refused. On the following day a party of police entered the consulate and said they were ordered to take the consul on board an English merchant vessel that happened to be in harbour. In vain he represented, through his dragoman—for the Dey would not see him—that this was a flagrant insult to His Majesty, in the person of his consul; that he was totally ignorant of the conduct

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of his servant, and that he was even ready to deliver him up to justice. The Dey persisted, and the consul was forcibly conducted through the streets, with his family and very few of his effects, and put on board the vessel, whose master was enjoined not to permit any member of the party to land, under any pretence whatever.

The consul observed that if he had proved himself a creature of the Jews, and unmindful of the honour of his country, this never would have happened, or would have been overlooked, but the impossibility of detaching him from his duty made them use every expedient to get him out of the country, and such, he continued, 'will be their conduct to every future consul should the present insult be overlooked by His Majesty's Government.' In another letter he says that he had certain information that the affair of the Moorish women was a preconcerted scheme to get rid of him.

Lord Nelson was directed to cause inquiries to be made into this affair; he despatched Captain Keats in H.M.S. *Superb* to Algiers, and Mr. Falcon accompanied him. They arrived on January 15, 1804, and early on the following morning Captain Keats sent an officer with two letters from Lord Nelson to the Dey. The latter was most violent against the consul, whom he several times declared he never would receive; 'he ought to have been killed, and he wondered at the King not having done so.' He was exceedingly insolent to Captain Keats, but he declared that while he never would receive Mr. Falcon, he would welcome

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any other consul, even without the usual present. A number of Neapolitan and Maltese prizes had been taken after Mr. Falcon's departure; these he declared he would keep, and he refused a second interview to Captain Keats.

On the failure of Captain Keats' mission, Mr. Falcon rejoined Lord Nelson, who told him that he had better proceed to England, as he did not intend to take any further steps till he had communicated with His Majesty's Government. He did so, when he was informed that it was not thought advisable that he should return to Algiers, and that Mr. Cartwright had been nominated his successor.

The new consul first proceeded to join Lord Nelson in the Mediterranean, and after a conference with him, he was despatched to Algiers in the *Superb*, commanded by Captain Keats, whom his Lordship a second time selected to settle the differences that had arisen. They arrived on January 3, 1805, from which time till the 9th, while the negotiations continued, the consul remained on board. They were tedious and difficult, but they were eventually overcome, and he was received with every mark of friendship.

But troublesome times were in store for the Dey and the Jewish faction, which had long exercised such calamitous sway in Algiers. On March 19, 1805, the Dey was attacked by four discontented soldiers, and received no less than fourteen terrible wounds; three of the soldiers were killed, but the fourth escaped. On June 28, Busnah, the Jew minister, was shot dead,

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whereupon 'the whole city became at once cheerful.' A general pillage of Jews' houses followed, from seventy to one hundred were killed, and the body of Busnah was torn from its grave and publicly burned. On August 3, the Agha put himself at the head of 2,000 soldiers and marched to the palace, where they demanded that the Dey and the Khasnadji should at once abdicate, or every soul there would be massacred. The Dey tried to appease the soldiery by offering them permission to sack and destroy the Jews' houses during two, and the Arabs' houses during three days, but finding that this tempting proposition was ineffectual, they sallied forth and were allowed to proceed for sanctuary to the cell of a Marabout. On their way they were met by another party of soldiers and assassinated. The Agha placed his father-in-law, Ahmed Pasha, in the Dey's seat, without the least opposition. He was said to be 'a man of strong sense and integrity.' To him the consul delivered the presents destined for his predecessor. He obtained the removal of the captain of the port, who was considered inimical to British interests; he effected the release of the Maltese in captivity, and he was sanguine that he would soon accomplish the liberation of the Sicilians as well.

But his next letter (December 5, 1805) describes a very different state of affairs. The partner of Busnah, who had been put in prison, was released; the most powerful enemies of the Jews were either strangled or banished; and this faction, which was friendly to the French, and inimical to British interests,

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became more powerful than ever. 'For twenty years past,' the consul says, 'His Majesty's forbearance to these people has tended to subject the nation to the vile treatment it has met with, and unless a different line of conduct be adopted, it will be impossible for any consul, worthy of His Majesty's choice, to maintain his ground here.' He did not do so, he found he had no alternative but to depart, so he embarked on board H.M.S. *Niger* on February 22, 1806, and in reporting the fact to Lord Castlereagh he says: 'What I have experienced since my stay here has literally been a summary of all the horrors and indignities that have been offered to the British nation for the last thirty years.'

In another letter addressed to the Right Honourable W. Wyndham, from Lisbon on April 13, he states: 'Very soon after my arrival I perceived that it was utterly impossible for any one worthy of bearing His Majesty's commission to maintain harmony between the two countries. I succeeded a gentleman whose only fault was upright conduct towards his country. Having failed in every other attempt to remove him, two Moorish women were introduced into his house, and police officers followed to seize them and forcibly convey Mr. Falcon on board ship. This fact, on the part of the powerful Jew house, is notorious to every individual throughout the country. The Jews direct the whole trade of the country to France and Spain; in taking up the cudgels against them I became far more odious than my predecessor.' The consul narrates several

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acts of tyranny committed on Jews under British protection: British vessels were treated with the greatest injustice: the consul was constantly insulted at his country house, the water was cut off, and finally guards were sent to turn him out: his demands to export to Malta prize and British goods were refused: he was not allowed to choose his own dragoman: all the bidders for the cargo of a Spanish prize were taken up and had seven hundred strokes of the bastinado each, and he concludes, 'there is so much to say that it is scarcely possible that it can be done by correspondence.'

In another letter he says: 'The residence at Algiers has, I believe, ever been considered the most disagreeable and difficult of all others, and few men of independent fortune will ever be found to occupy it. It has gradually become worse and worse, and I think my predecessor was moderate when he affirmed to me that, in the state he left it, it was the next step to the infernal regions.'

Lord Collingwood was now empowered to institute an inquiry into the late misunderstanding, and Mr. Henry Stanyford Blanckley was recommended to him for the consulate. He had served in America during the greater part of the war, and having raised a company at his own expense in 1780, he served at Gibraltar till the end of the siege as a captain, and on the Staff as brigade major. At the end of that war he sold out, and was appointed consul for the Balearic Islands, which office he had held for sixteen years.

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I have not been able to trace Lord Collingwood's report, but Mr. Blanckley arrived at Algiers in H.M.S. *Hydra* on October 9, 1806.[1]

Mr. Blanckley brought no presents, as he was considered merely a pro-consul. Lord Collingwood had indeed entrusted him with a watch for the Dey, but the latter, looking at it contemptuously, passed it over to his head cook, as unworthy of his own acceptance. At this time England had obtained a marked superiority over all other nations at sea, and the influence of France at Algiers had declined in proportion. One of the first acts of the Dey was to offer Mr. Blanckley the much-coveted privilege of fishing for coral on the coast, which France had enjoyed for more than two centuries, and was most anxious to retain. This monopoly carried with it the exclusive trade of Bona, and the occupation of La Calle. The conditions proposed were that £50,000 per annum should be paid, terms less onerous than had been exacted from the French, but the consul was not allowed more than twenty-four hours' delay for consideration, and could not of course obtain the sanction of his Government for so important a step. Nevertheless he took upon himself to accept the Dey's offer, and hired a ship to convey the treaty which he had concluded to England. On this occasion he made a more fitting present to His Highness, who begged him further to obtain for him an English

[1] An interesting account of his residence at Algiers was published by his daughter, Mrs. Broughton, whose husband kept the well-known 'Broughton's Academy' at Edinburgh. It is entitled *Six Years in Algiers*. London: 1840.

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surgeon and watchmaker, as he was anxious to be surrounded only by English.

The following is the official translation of the firman granted by the Dey, forwarded by Consul-General Blanckley:—

The motive for which this present Firman is issued is on account of a contract passed this year of our Hegira 1221, the first day of the moon Erar, which corresponds to January 9, 1807, of the Christian era, in this city of Algiers, between His Excellency Ahmet Bashaw, the Divan, and the Governors of Algiers, and Henry Stanyford Blanckley, Esq., His Britannic Majesty's agent and Consul-General, and Geronimo Escudero, Esq., His Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consul residing at Bona, in virtue of the full powers with which the aforesaid Henry Stanyford Blanckley, Esq., is invested from His Britannic Majesty for the trade of Bona, and the Bastion, which were in the possession of the French; the wool, wax, and hides will be in their possession, and they shall be entitled to all the benefits and advantages thereof, in preference to any other nation, and to the above effect we have agreed that they shall pay fifty thousand dollars per annum, of which twenty-five are to be paid every six months to the royal treasury.

On account of the good understanding and friendship that exists between us and the said Henry Stanyford Blanckley, Esq., and Geronimo Escudero, Esq., we grant that they may load every year at Bona two small vessels with wheat, a few bullocks and sheep, which they shall be allowed to buy without any impediment whatsoever, but on no account do we permit a trade to be made of the said articles.

When any British men-of-war arrive at Bona they are allowed to buy for their provisions a hundred sheep and between thirty and forty bullocks, and these we grant them because they are our dear friends, but on no account do we permit them to trade in the above articles.

We grant likewise the coral fishery, which will be for

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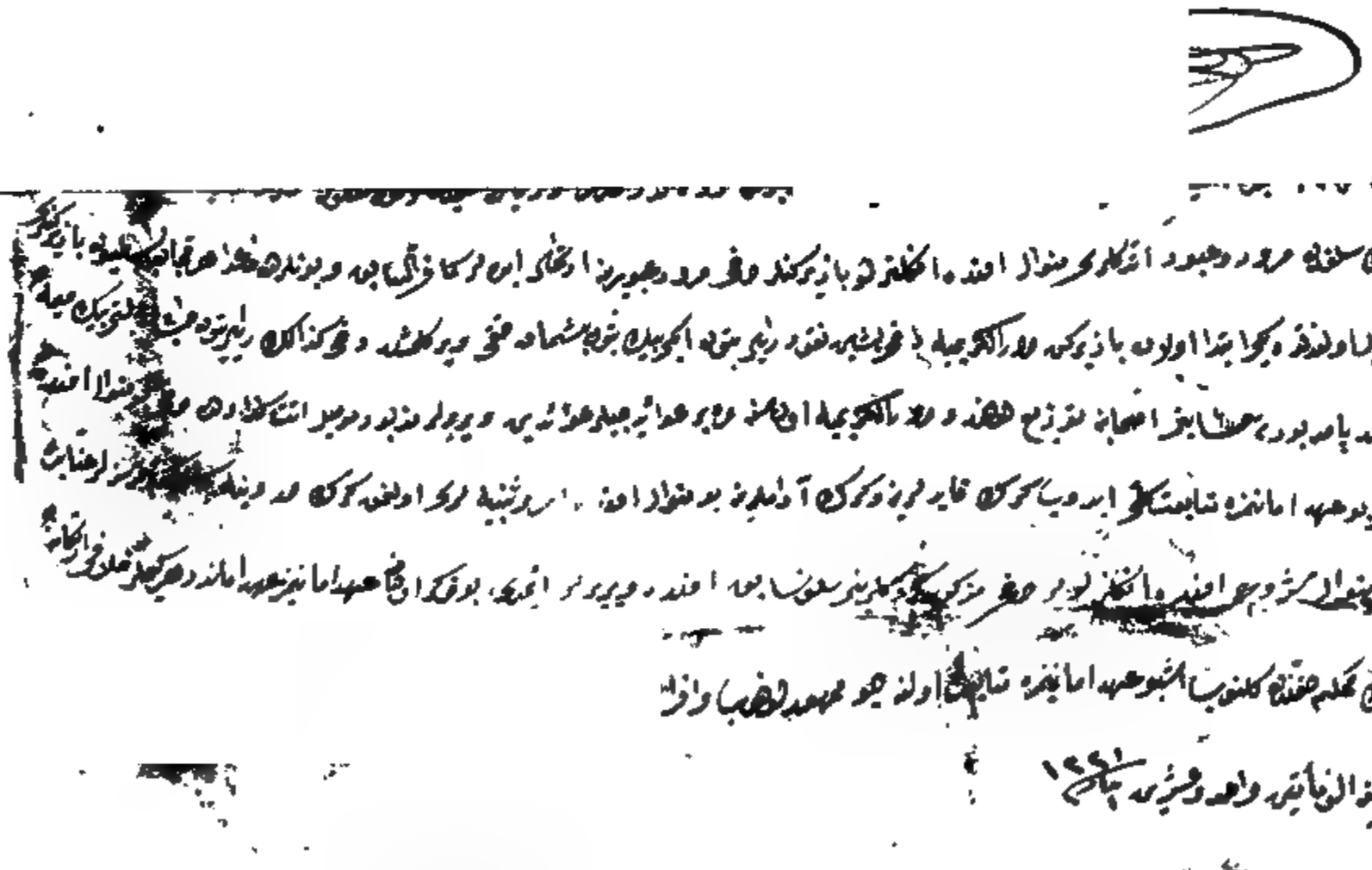

DEY'S FIRMAN GRANTING THE CORAL FISHERY OF LA CALLE AND THE TRADE OF BONA TO THE ENGLISH.

their benefit, in the same manner as it was when in the possession of the French, and their trade shall be only of wool, wax, hides and coral.

If any British merchants establish themselves in Bona they shall be permitted to trade without being molested, and they shall be entitled to the same privileges and immunities that the French enjoyed, and no individual of any other nation shall be permitted to trade in the above-mentioned articles.

Whenever the British Vice-Consul at Bona is changed, the English Government must pay as a present to His Excellency the Dey 2,000 *Patacas Gordas*, which make 1,200 dollars, and 6,000 *Saimas*, which make 255 dollars for the seal of a new Firman; and if at the expiration of ten years the Vice-Consul is not changed, then the English Government must pay the above-mentioned sum, as the French have heretofore done.

The Bey of Constantina, and the members of his Government, shall on no account have the least power over British subjects, but they shall be obliged, whenever they import any goods in the port of Bona, to pay the usual fees of the Custom House in the same manner as the French have heretofore done.

All our subjects disobeying whatever is expressed in this present Firman shall be punished with death.

Confirmed and sealed with the seal of His Excellency the Dey of Algiers at his palace in the year of our Hegira, one thousand two hundred and twenty-one, and the first day of moon Erar, which corresponds to the ninth day of January one thousand eight hundred and seven of the Christian era.

On July 1, 1807, H.M. sloop *Bittern* arrived at Algiers with despatches containing the approval of His Majesty's Government of the La Calle contract, and an expression of their satisfaction at the zeal and decision which Mr. Blanckley had exhibited.

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Twenty merchants residing at Malta subscribed the sum of $10,000 each, and formed themselves into a company to work the new concession. In November 1810 a commission, consisting of Lord Cochrane, K.B., Captain Harding, R.E., and Mr. McDonell, of the Commissariat, subsequently consul-general, were sent to Algiers to inspect and report on La Calle, and they were provided by the Dey with letters of recommendation to all the provincial authorities.

We seem always to have missed our opportunity in matters connected with Algiers; in the present instance, although we continued to pay the annual rent for a considerable period, we never reaped the smallest advantage, either from the coral fishery or the trade of Bona, and shortly afterwards they were allowed to escape us and revert to the French, in whose hands they continued till the final conquest of the country.

In November the consul effected the liberation of thirteen Englishmen who had been wrecked near Djidjelly and enslaved by the Kabyles inhabiting the mountainous region in that locality; their ransom, amounting to 465*l.*, was paid by the Ironmongers' Company from the Betton trust.

On the 9th of the same month the *Thetis* frigate arrived, having on board Sir Arthur Paget, British ambassador to the Porte. He presented the Dey with a gold snuff-box set in diamonds, worth 500*l.*, and His Highness gave him in return two Christian slaves, the price of whose ransom was estimated at $4,000.

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The feeling which invariably rises to the mind, in reading the history of these hideous times, is the utter impossibility of understanding how all the nations of Europe could continue the interchange of such acts of courtesy with a people who looked upon themselves as privileged to commit any outrage that they pleased, and who were suffered, almost without remonstrance, to heap indignities upon their subjects, and even on their representatives, on the smallest or on no provocation.

Thus in March 1808 the Bey, exasperated at the non-arrival of the long-expected tribute from Denmark, determined to put the Danish consul, Admiral Ulrich, in chains. Late one evening he was seized by a chaouch, ignominiously taken through the streets to the bagno of the Marine, and heavily ironed with a chain round his leg, upwards of fifty pounds in weight. At daylight in the morning he was taken out with the other slaves, and forced to work with them. The just indignation felt by the consuls at this barbarous conduct caused them to forget all political rivalries and points of precedence, and they proceeded in a body to the Dey to demand his liberation: Mr. Blanckley and Monsieur de Thainville, the French consul-general, walking arm-in-arm. They declared that if he were not immediately liberated they would one and all haul down their flags, and suspend diplomatic intercourse. The Dey, though highly incensed, acceded to their demand; they then proceeded, in the same order as they had come, to the Marine, and carried off their luckless colleague in

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triumph to his own residence. Mrs. Ulrich never recovered the blow she received at seeing her husband torn from his family, and died shortly afterwards from its effects.

This is not the only outrage recorded against Hadji Ali bin Khalil Dey. Mr. Fraissenet, who had held the post of Dutch consul for twenty-three years, was treated in a precisely similar manner, loaded with heavy chains, and sent out to work with the other slaves at the arsenal; threats were even held out that if this treatment did not secure immediate payment of the tribute due, the consul's wife and children would be publicly sold as slaves. On this occasion the remonstrances of the consuls were ineffectual in obtaining Mr. Fraissenet's immediate release, and the unfortunate victim died from the effects of the treatment he had received, on August 15, 1808.

Many Spanish captures were made about this period, and it frequently happened that British subjects from Gibraltar were amongst the passengers on board the prizes. On one occasion an English brig, laden with fruit, bound from Spain to London, was seized on the plea that her papers were incorrect, her passport, granted by General Drummond, a former governor of Gibraltar, being old and tattered. The consul maintained that this outrage was tantamount to a declaration of war, and the vessel was liberated. He was not so successful when H.M.S. *Cephalus* arrived from Malta on October 11; Sir Alexander Ball had sent her to demand the restitu-

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tion of certain prizes taken under British colours, on the plea that they were Sicilian property; the Dey absolutely refused to entertain the demand, in spite of the warnings and threats of Mr. Blanckley.

His own end, however, was at hand; one of the numerous insurrections, which alone seemed to temper the absolute authority of the ruler of Algiers, broke out on November 7. Ahmed Ali Pasha was shot on the terrace of a Jew's house when endeavouring to escape from his mutinous Janissaries; his body was cast into the street, and his head was carried in triumph, as the fittest offering to his successor, Ali bin Mohammed Pasha, who had instigated the rebellion.

Mr. Blanckley styles him a 'stupid old man.' He does not seem to have given satisfaction to any one; he seriously entertained the idea of revoking his predecessor's decision regarding the liberation of the English brig, but before steps could be taken to detain her, he himself was assassinated by his soldiery on March 4, 1809, as was his Khasnadji on the following day.

When Mr. Blanckley went to pay his respects to the new Dey, Hadji Ali bin Khalil Pasha, he offered to shake hands with him, and when the other consuls tendered him the usual homage of kissing his hand, he would not suffer them to do so, but shook hands with them also, a very remarkable innovation in the manners of the Court.

The Algerines were not always the aggressors in the matter of prizes. On June 16, an English

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frigate, *La Volontaire*, arrived at Algiers with despatches from Lord Collingwood. She brought the embarrassing intelligence that H.M. brig *Minstrel* had made prizes of three Algerine vessels, although they had previously been visited by five different English frigates, who had all respected their passports, granted by Mr. Blanckley. The vessels were forwarded to Gibraltar for adjudication in the Admiralty Court, but their crews were sent to Algiers in *La Volontaire*.

Naturally enough the whole Marine was in a state of fury and confusion; a Divan was summoned, at which the British consul and merchants, the Swedish, Danish and American consuls were present. Mr. Blanckley produced a copy of a certain Order in Council, and the rules and regulations, in conformity with which alone he was empowered to grant passes. The Dey declared that the Regency was ignorant of the English having made such regulations, and if they had known it they never would have recognised or assented to them. This excitement lasted for several days; the Dey refused to allow provisions to be supplied to the frigate, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs was heard to threaten that the consul and his family would be put in chains if the vessels were not surrendered.

While this was going on, several ships were brought into harbour containing cargoes of money and ammunition for Sir John Stewart at Naples; these, however, were not covered by English passes, and both the ships and cargoes, as well as fifty-

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nine unfortunate men comprising the crews, were condemned as lawful prizes.

Another subject of contention occurred in July 1809. One Babastro, a French privateer captain, who had long infested the coast of Barbary, brought two English prizes, the *Salerno* and the *Lucy*, into Algiers for sale. The Dey, at Mr. Blanckley's instance, ordered him out of the port, whereupon he took them to Bougia. There they were cut out by an English cruiser, to the great indignation of the Regency, which protested at such an act in a neutral port. Mr. Blanckley communicated the circumstances to Lord Collingwood, who immediately caused them to be taken back to Bougia, whence they had been rescued.

On May 28, 1810, the frigate *Comus* arrived at Algiers, having on board a Portuguese ambassador, accompanied by Mr. Casamajor, British Secretary of Legation at Lisbon, for the purpose of concluding a peace. Portugal was at that time struggling for existence; a great part of her territories were overrun by the French, and Britain was in the act of rendering her military assistance. It was therefore only natural that the latter should tender her powerful influence to free her unfortunate ally from the depredations of the Barbary corsairs, which had become a source of intolerable vexation.

The time was near at hand, but had not yet arrived, when the nations of Europe dared to assume an attitude worthy of themselves with these pirates, whose strength had greatly declined, and who were

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then existing, partly through the reputation of their former strength, and partly owing to the weakness or the rivalries of the various countries trading to the Mediterranean. The Portuguese commissioners succeeded in concluding a truce, or rather preliminary articles of peace, on the usual onerous terms. They agreed to pay nearly $700,000 as ransom for their subjects then languishing in slavery, Great Britain engaging to exert her influence for the conclusion of a definite treaty, and allowing her representative to act as Portuguese consul-general, in addition to his own duties.

In the following year the ransom was paid and the slaves were liberated, and in 1812 a definitive treaty was concluded, through the agency of Mr. A'Court, afterwards Lord Heytesbury, His Majesty's Ambassador in Portugal, who was sent as special commissioner for the purpose. By this treaty Portugal agreed to pay the further sum of nearly half a million dollars, an annual tribute of $24,000, and the usual biennial consular presents.

The first batch of freed captives left Algiers on October 26, 1811. Amongst them were many officers, priests, and women; some had been nearly forty years in captivity, and not less than thirty ineffectual overtures had been made by the Portuguese Government to effect their release.

On October 26, 1810, the *Fortunée* frigate arrived at Algiers for the purpose of conveying an Embassy from the Dey to England, with more than usually splendid presents to the King, consisting

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of richly mounted arms, several rows of fine pearls, Arab horses handsomely caparisoned, their bits, stirrups and even their shoes being of solid gold, also some lions and other wild animals. The embassy returned on August 24, 1811, on board the *Argo*, line-of-battle ship. On the following day, when Mr. Blanckley went to the palace to present the return gift from the King, the Dey was in the worst possible humour, on account of not having received an autograph reply from His Majesty. When a musical snuff-box, which cost 500*l*., was presented, he asked if the King took him for a child; he ridiculed a beautiful clasp of brilliants and emeralds; he seemed to think very little of a bale of broadcloth; he received more graciously a pair of pistols, splendidly ornamented, but asked peremptorily 'where is the gun that belongs to them?' Altogether the result of the embassy did not prepossess the Dey in favour of the English, and he refused to give liberty to two Christian slaves which Captain Warren had been moved to solicit.

In March 1812 Mr. Blanckley was recalled to England, ostensibly to give information regarding the affairs of Bona and La Calle, and Mr. McDonell, of the Commissariat Department at Gibraltar, was appointed to act for him.

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CHAPTER XVII.

CONSULATE OF HUGH MCDONELL—PEACE WITH AMERICA—LORD EXMOUTH'S MISSION TO AND VICTORY AT ALGIERS—ACTION OF THE CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

1812—1820.

MR. HUGH MCDONELL arrived with his family on August 1, 1812. He had begun his career in 1778 as an ensign in the King's Royal Regiment of New York; he rose to be Adjutant-General of the Militia of Upper Canada, and in 1805 he was named Assistant Commissary-General at Gibraltar. He was also charged with the duties of the Portuguese consulate at Algiers, though he never received any official appointment or salary.

A change took place in the government of Algiers shortly after his arrival. Omar Pasha, who was named Dey, was a native of Mytilene, a man endowed with good sense, intelligence and dignity of character. In his private life he was most exemplary, having only one wife, with whom he passed much of his leisure time, and he was most strict in following the tenets of his religion, so much so that during his reign every breach of them was treated with inexorable severity.

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In the following year he was assassinated, and was succeeded by Hadji Mohammed, his Khasnadji. The reign of this Dey only lasted sixteen days; he was deposed and strangled on April 7, 1815, and was succeeded by Omar bin Mohammed, the Agha of Janissaries.

A peace was now concluded between Algiers and America, in every respect honourable and advantageous to the United States. Even in the early days of the colonies, while they were yet contending with the savage Indians, many American families had to deplore the loss of their relatives doomed to slavery in the distant Barbary states. Numberless instances are recorded in the literature of the period; one letter says: 'The Turks have so taken our New England ships richly laden, homeward bound, that it is very dangerous to go. Many of our neighbours are now in captivity in Algiers. The Lord find out some way for their redemption!'

The United States became independent in 1783. The new national flag had little power to protect its citizens from the outrages of the Barbary corsairs. So many American vessels became their prey that the Mediterranean trade seemed closed to their enterprise, while, not even in the Atlantic, could they navigate in safety. At length, in 1795, a truce having been concluded between Algiers and Portugal, the latter power had no longer any object in watching the Straits of Gibraltar, and American shipping became more than ever a prey to the Algerine cruisers. America felt itself obliged to con-

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clude a peace with Algiers on the best terms it could obtain. It cost them more than a million Spanish dollars, and a heavy annual tribute both in money and naval stores was exacted in addition.

The Treaty of Ghent in 1815, establishing peace with Great Britain, left the Americans free to deal with Algiers. Congress was no longer able to support the idea of having to pay a tribute for the protection of its shipping, and it was determined to send a naval force to the Mediterranean and special commissioners to compel the Regency to conclude peace on honourable and equitable terms. Mr. William Shaler was named consul-general at Algiers and chief commissioner, and with him were associated Captains William Bainbridge and Stephen Decatur. The squadron arrived at Algiers on June 28, 1815, and on the 30th the treaty was concluded; its leading features were:—no tribute or payment of any kind; restitution of property detained or captured in violation of the late treaty; immediate liberation of American captives, and that the United States should be placed on the footing of the most favoured nation.

The Algerine vessels when cruising about this period visited the coast of Italy, and by the stratagem of hoisting British colours decoyed on board and kidnapped about 350 of the inhabitants. On hearing that the American squadron was somewhere in the neighbourhood, these miserable victims were landed at Bona and driven like cattle overland to Algiers. Fifty-one of them perished on the way, and the re-

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mainder arrived and passed the Dey's inspection literally naked, and perishing from hunger, ill-treatment, and fatigue; one of them actually dropped down and expired in his presence. Mr. Shaler, in reporting this fact to the United States Government, very naturally observes that the horrors of the negro slave trade are tender mercies when compared with the sufferings which are inflicted upon the inhabitants of Italy and Spain by these detestable barbarians.

The success of American diplomacy was followed by a much more signal victory on the part of Great Britain. The question of Christian slavery was mooted at the Congress of Vienna, and a proposal was made by Sir Sidney Smith, which, though not adopted by the Congress, awakened an echo throughout Christendom, and England undertook single-handed what united Europe would not or could not accomplish.

Early in 1816 Lord Exmouth was sent on a mission to the Barbary states to assert the right of the Ionian Islanders to be treated on the same footing as British subjects, and to make peace between Sardinia and Algiers. He was authorised to tender his good offices to any other Mediterranean powers that might desire him to treat for them, and Naples readily availed herself of this offer. He accordingly arrived at Algiers with his squadron of eighteen sail on April 1, 1816.

In the matter of the Two Sicilies, peace was concluded on the following terms. The Regency of Algiers was to receive from the Court of Naples $24,000 per annum and the customary presents, as in the case of Portugal. Sicilian subjects were to be

released at the rate of £1,000 a head, and 357 out of the total number of 1,000 captives were at once liberated and sent to Naples, on board a British transport. The British consul-general was appointed to act for Sicily also. The ransom money and presents were brought in the Sicilian frigate *Cristina* on July 30 following, and 364,000 Spanish dollars were handed to the Dey.

A similar arrangement was made on behalf of Sardinia, but of a somewhat less onerous nature; her captives, forty in number, were to be redeemed at the rate of £500 a head, and her subjects were to be placed on the same footing in every respect as those of Great Britain. Her consul was to make a present once for all, instead of every two years. The captives were sent to Genoa in H.M.S. *Calypso*, which brought back the amount of the ransom and eight Algerine captives, for each of whom the Regency paid a ransom of £500.

Lord Exmouth concluded a treaty,[1] under date April 3, 1816, in which the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands were fully recognised as British subjects, and any captives then at Algiers were to be released without payment of ransom. A provision was also inserted to prevent abuses on the part of Barbary corsairs when examining British ships at sea.

An additional article was subsequently added on May 20, recognising the flag and subjects of Hanover.

Foreseeing the possibility of an ultimate attack on

[1] Hertslet's *Treaties*, vol. i. p. 84–86.

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Algiers, Lord Exmouth had sent on Captain Warde, of H.M.S. *Banterer*, to make a plan of the harbour and sea defences; he was enjoined to observe the utmost secrecy, and the instructions, written in Lord Exmouth's own hand, concluded with this injunction: 'Be with the consul as much as you can, and go on board to write your observations, carefully locking them up. Be cautious never to have any sort of paper about your person that may lead to suspicion.' This important duty was performed in the most satisfactory manner, and Captain Warde's plan greatly aided the Admiral in his subsequent operations, and was used by him to illustrate his despatch reporting the battle of Algiers

Lord Exmouth now proceeded to Tunis and Tripoli, where he induced the Beys to abolish entirely the institution of Christian slavery. On May 15 he returned to Algiers and began to treat with the Dey to attain the same end. With a boldness which has always been characterised by foreign critics as culpable rashness,[1] he had taken up a position under the very guns of the forts. Two frigates were within short musket range of the heaviest Marine battery. The *Boyne* and a 74-gun ship lay within point-blank range of the same, and the rest of the squadron were anchored close to these.

In the mean time Lord Exmouth had made his demands to the Dey. It was unanimously decided by the Divan that they should not be complied with, unless an order were directly addressed to them by

[1] Despatch of Mr. Shaler to Honourable James Monroe.

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the suzerain power, the Sublime Porte, and they demanded a delay of six months to consult him on the subject. The Admiral agreed to a delay of two months, which he declared to be his ultimatum; the Dey then rejected the proposition altogether, expressing doubts as to Lord Exmouth having any authority for the demands he had made, and using language towards him of the utmost insolence.

Mr. McDonell, the British consul-general, who accompanied Lord Exmouth, was stopped at the Marine gate, and the Admiral was again insulted before he could reach his boat. The consul was conducted to his house, and a guard placed at his door. In the mean time a party of armed men was sent to the British Garden; there they seized his horses; conducted his servants to the Marine; took possession of his house, and treated his family with insolent rudeness. Mrs. McDonell, her sister, and the consul's daughter were driven down into town on foot, in the most ignominious manner and were on the point of being conducted to the Bagno. They were finally permitted to retire to the house of Mrs. McDonell's father, the Danish consul-general. Captains Pechell and Warde, of the British squadron, who had gone on shore, were assailed by the people, dragged off their horses, and marched, with their hands tied behind them, through the town to the Dey's palace, where, however, they were at once released.

At about one o'clock the Pasha sent for Mr. McDonell; he again expressed his disbelief in the Admiral's being authorised to make such dictatorial

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demands, and informed him that he would be detained as a hostage for the ransom of the slaves taken away from Algiers in the previous April. Subsequently the consul was permitted to go to his country house with his wife, but under escort.

Lord Exmouth sent several messages on shore, with a view to ensure the safety of the consul and his family, but he was always met with the same reply, that on payment being made for the slaves taken away in April, they would be permitted to retire to the fleet.

On the 18th, Sir Israel Pellew, Captain Brisbane, and the other captains went on shore, and it was arranged that Algerine ambassadors were to proceed both to London and Constantinople, to treat the matter there. Lord Exmouth probably felt that his instructions would not justify him in proceeding to extremities, and it must have been with bitter regret and humiliation that he sailed for England on May 21.

A few days later the embassy started for Constantinople in H.M.S. *Tagus*, and a merchant ship under its escort, taking with it a present for the Sultan, consisting of jewellery, brocades, wearing apparel, arms, lion and panther skins, &c.; two horses, seven ostriches and forty parrots, two live lions and two panthers, and forty Austrian subjects who had been enslaved.

During all this perilous time, Mr. William Shaler, the American consul-general, had been unremitting in his attentions to his English colleague and his

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family, and his services were thoroughly appreciated and warmly acknowledged by the Admiral.

When a rupture with the British fleet appeared inevitable, and while Lord Exmouth was still at Algiers, the Dey sent orders to Bona and Oran to arrest all Italians there, under British protection. In the former of these places the order was executed with the most rigorous ferocity. At least a hundred persons were murdered whilst attending mass on shore. As many more were wounded, and eight hundred were taken prisoners. The British vice-consul's life was only saved through the personal friendship entertained for him by the Governor. The prisoners were soon after liberated, but an indiscriminate plunder of their effects had previously taken place.

As soon as this became known in England, it was determined not to await the result of any further negotiation, but to act with vigour and determination against the Algerines. Lord Exmouth was ordered to complete the work he had initiated, and he was offered for this purpose any force that he might deem necessary.

The fleet which was prepared for the occasion consisted of the following vessels:—

Queen Charlotte, 108, flag of Admiral Lord Exmouth; Captain J. Brisbane, C.B.

Impregnable, 104, Rear-Admiral Milne; Captain Edward Bruce, C.B.

Superb, 74, Captain Charles Ekins.

Minden, 74, Captain William Patterson.

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Albion, 74, Captain John Coode.
Leander, 50, Captain Edward Chatham, C.B.
Severn, 40, Captain Hon. F. W. Aylmer.
Glasgow, 40, Captain Hon. Anthony Maitland.
Hebrus, 36, Captain Edmund Palmer, C.B.
Granicus, 36, Captain William Furlong Wise.
Mutine, 16, Captain James Mould.
Prometheus, 16, Captain William Bateman Dashwood.
Infernal, bomb, Captain Hon. G. J. Percival.
Fury, bomb, Captain Constantine R. Moorsom.
Beelzebub, bomb, Captain William Kempthorne.
Hecla, bomb, Captain William Popham.
Cordelia, 10, Captain William Sargent.
Britomart, 10, Captain Robert Riddle.
Express, schooner.

It sailed from Portsmouth on July 25, and on August 9 reached Gibraltar. There it met a Dutch squadron under command of Vice-Admiral Baron von Capellan, who solicited permission to co-operate with the English, a permission which was gladly and cordially granted. This squadron consisted of the following vessels :—

Melampus, 36, Vice-Admiral von Capellan ; Captain Anthony Willem De-Man.
Frederica, 36, Captain J. A. Van der Straaten.
Dageraad, 36, Captain J. M. Polders.
Diana, 36, Captain P. Zievogel.
Amstel, 36, Captain W. A. Vanderhart.
Eeridragt, 24, Captain J. F. C. Wardenburg.

The united squadron arrived before Algiers on August 27.

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In the mean time the troopship *Prometheus* had been sent on to Algiers to endeavour to bring away the consul-general and his family. Rumours of the expedition had, however, been received through the French papers, and the suspicions of the Dey were confirmed by the arrival of this vessel.

Captain Dashwood's first endeavour was to place the ladies of the consul's family in safety. Mr. McDonell had married, about a year previously, the daughter of his colleague, Admiral Ulrich, Consul-General of Denmark, a young lady then under sixteen years of age, and shortly before these events a child had been born. The daughter of Mr. McDonell by a former marriage was also at Algiers, and these ladies were got safely on board the *Prometheus* disguised as midshipmen. As, however, it was not customary for young gentlemen of the Royal Navy to carry little babies about with them, another stratagem had to be adopted. The surgeon of the vessel undertook to give the child an opiate, and as soon as it was fast asleep it was packed in a basket of fruit and vegetables, to be carried on board as provisions. Unfortunately it began to cry when passing through the Marine gate, and not only it, but the surgeon, three midshipmen, and the boat's crew of fourteen men were carried before the Dey. The child was sent off by His Highness three days later, 'a solitary instance,' as Lord Exmouth remarks in his despatch, 'of his humanity.' The boat's crew were less fortunate, they were lodged in the common bagno, and they, as well as the consul-general himself, re-

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mained in rigorous confinement till Lord Exmouth's victory set them free.

The *Prometheus* in the mean time left to rejoin the fleet at Gibraltar, but meeting it at sea, she returned with it. On his arrival Lord Exmouth made a final but vain attempt to treat with the Regency. He sent a boat under flag of truce to convey a letter to the Dey,[1] demanding that Mr. McDonell as well as the officers and men of the *Prometheus* should be sent off immediately, in conformity with ancient treaties, and holding him and his Government responsible for any violence or insult that might be offered to them. No reply was vouchsafed to this communication, and as soon as the Admiral saw the boat returning with a preconcerted signal to announce this fact, he determined on an immediate attack.

Subsequent operations should be told in the words of his own despatch.[2]

Sir,—In all the vicissitudes of a long life of public service, no circumstance has ever produced on my mind such impressions of gratitude and joy as the event of yesterday. To have been one of the humble instruments in the hands of Divine Providence for bringing to reason a ferocious Government, and destroying for ever the insufferable and horrid system of Christian slavery, can never cease to be a source of delight and heartfelt comfort to every individual happy enough to be employed in it. I may hope to be permitted, under such impressions, to offer my sincere congratulations to their Lordships on the complete success which attended

[1] Despatch dated August 26, 1816.
[2] To the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated August 28.

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the gallant efforts of His Majesty's fleet in their attack upon Algiers of yesterday, and the happy result produced from it on this day, by the signature of peace.

Thus has a provoked war of two days' existence been attended by a complete victory, and closed by a renewed peace for England, and her ally, the King of the Netherlands, on conditions dictated by the firmness and wisdom of His Majesty's Government, and commanded by the vigour of their measures.

My thanks are justly due for the honour and confidence His Majesty's Ministers have been pleased to repose on my zeal on this highly important occasion. The means were by them made adequate to my own wishes, and the rapidity of their measures speaks for itself. Not more than a hundred days since, I left Algiers with the British fleet, unsuspicious and ignorant of the atrocities which had been committed at Bona. That fleet, on its arrival in England, was necessarily disbanded, and another, with proportionate resources, created and equipped; and although impeded in its progress by calms and adverse winds, it has poured the vengeance of an insulted nation, in chastising the cruelties of a ferocious Government, with a promptitude beyond example, and highly honourable to the national character, eager to resent oppression or cruelty, wherever practised upon those under its protection.

Would to God that in the attainment of this object I had not deeply to lament the severe loss of so many gallant officers and men! They have profusely bled in a contest which has been peculiarly marked by proofs of such devoted heroism, as would rouse every noble feeling, did I dare to indulge in relating them.

The battle was fairly at issue between a handful of Britons, in the noble cause of Christianity, and a horde of fanatics, assembled round their city, and enclosed within its fortifications, to obey the dictates of their Despot.

The cause of God and humanity prevailed; and so devoted was every creature in the fleet, that even British women

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served at the same guns with their husbands, and during a contest of many hours, never shrank from danger but animated all around them.

If ever it can be permitted to an officer to depart from the usual forms of naval correspondence on any occasion, I trust I shall find in the indulgence of my superiors, and of my country, excuses for having ventured thus to intrude my own sentiments; and I confide myself to their liberality.

Their Lordships will have been already informed by his Majesty's sloop *Jasper* of my proceedings up to the 14th inst., on which day I broke ground from Gibraltar, after a vexatious detention by a foul wind of four days.

The fleet, complete in all its points, with the addition of five gun-boats fitted at Gibraltar, departed in the highest spirits, and with the most favourable prospect of reaching the port of their destination in three days; but an adverse wind destroyed the expectation of an early arrival, which was the more anxiously looked for by myself, in consequence of hearing, the day I sailed from Gibraltar, that a large army had been assembled, and that very considerable additional works were being thrown up, not only on both flanks of the city, but also immediately about the entrance of the Mole. From this, I was apprehensive that my intention of making that point my principal object of attack had been discovered to the Dey, by the same means he had heard of the expedition. This intelligence was on the following night greatly confirmed by the *Prometheus*, which I had despatched to Algiers some time before, to endeavour to get away the consul. Captain Dashwood had with difficulty succeeded in bringing away, disguised in midshipmen's uniform, his wife and daughter, leaving a boat to bring off their infant child, coming down in a basket with the surgeon, who thought he had composed it; but it unhappily cried in the gateway, and in consequence, the surgeon, three midshipmen, and in all eighteen persons, were seized, and confined as slaves in the usual dungeons. The child was sent off next morning

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by the Dey, and as a solitary instance of his humanity, it ought to be recorded by me.

Captain Dashwood further confirmed that about 40,000 men had been brought down from the interior, and all the Janissaries called in from distant garrisons; and that they were indefatigably employed on the batteries, gun-boats, &c., and everywhere strengthening their defences.

The Dey informed Captain Dashwood he knew perfectly well the armament was destined for Algiers, and asked him if it was true. He replied, if he had such information, he knew as much as he did, and probably from the same source, the public prints.

The ships were all in port, and between forty and fifty gun and mortar boats ready, with several more in forward repair. The Dey had closely confined the consul, and refused either to give him up, or to promise his personal safety; nor would he hear a word respecting the officers and men seized in the boat of the *Prometheus*.

From the continuance of adverse winds and calms, the land to the westward of Algiers was not made before the 26th, and next morning, at daybreak, the fleet was advanced in sight of the city, though not so near as I had intended. As the ships were becalmed, I embraced this opportunity of despatching a boat, under cover of the *Severn*, with a flag of truce, and the demands I had to make in the name of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent on the Dey of Algiers, directing the officer to wait two or three hours for the Dey's answer, at which time, if no reply was sent, he was to return to the flagship. He was met near the Mole by the captain of the port, who, on being told that the answer was expected in one hour, replied that it was impossible. The officer then said he would wait two or three hours. He then observed two hours was quite sufficient.

The fleet at this time, by the springing up of the sea-breeze, had reached the bay, and were preparing the boats and flotilla for service, until near two o'clock, when, observing my officer returning with the signal flying that no answer

had been received, after a delay of upwards of three hours, I instantly made the signal to know if the ships were all ready; which, being answered in the affirmative, the *Queen Charlotte* bore up, followed by the fleet, for their appointed stations. The flag leading in the prescribed order was anchored in the entrance of the Mole, at about fifty yards distance. At this moment not a gun had been fired, and I began to suspect a full compliance with the terms which had been so many hours in their hands. At this period of profound silence, a shot was fired at us from the Mole, and two at the ships to the northward, then following. This was promptly returned by the *Queen Charlotte*, which was then lashing to the mainmast of a brig fast to the shore in the mouth of the Mole, and which we had steered for as a guide to our position.

Thus commenced a fire, as animated and well-supported as I believe was ever witnessed, from a quarter before three until nine without intermission, and which did not cease altogether till half-past eleven.

The ships immediately following me were admirably and coolly taking their stations, with a precision even beyond my most sanguine hope; and never did the British flag receive, on any occasion, more zealous and honourable support.

To look further on the line than immediately around me was perfectly impossible; but so well-grounded was my confidence in the gallant officers I had the honour to command, that my mind was left perfectly free to attend to other objects; and I knew them in their stations only by the destructive effect of their fire upon the walls and batteries to which they were opposed.

I had about this time the satisfaction of seeing Vice-Admiral von Capellan's flag in the station I had assigned to him, and soon after, at intervals, the remainder of his frigates, keeping up a well-supported fire on the flanking batteries he had offered to cover us from; as it had not been in my power, for want of room, to bring him in the front of the Mole.

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About sunset I received a message from Rear-Admiral Milne, by Captain Powell, a friend of Captain Brace, conveying to me the severe loss the *Impregnable* was sustaining, having then one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, and requesting I would, if possible, send him a frigate to divert some of the fire he was under.

The *Glasgow*, near me, immediately weighed, but the wind had been driven away by the cannonade, and she was obliged to anchor again, having obtained rather a better position than before.

I had at this time sent orders to the explosion-vessel (under charge of Lieutenant Fleming and Mr. Parker), by Captain Reed, of the engineers, to bring her into the Mole, but the Rear-Admiral having thought she might do him essential service if exploded under the battery in his front, I desired Captain Powell to carry my orders to this vessel to that effect, where he stayed till it was executed. I desired also the Rear-Admiral might be informed that many of the ships being now in flames, and the destruction of the whole certain, I considered I had executed the most important part of my instructions, and should make every preparation for withdrawing the ships; and desired he would do so as soon as possible with his division.

There were awful moments during this conflict which I cannot attempt to describe, occasioned by firing the ships so near us. I had long resisted the eager entreaties of several around me to make the attempt upon the outer frigate, distant about a hundred yards, which at length I gave in to; and Major Gossett by my side, who had been eager to land his corps of miners, pressed me most anxiously for permission to accompany Lieutenant Richards, in the ship's barge. The frigate was instantly boarded, and in ten minutes was in a perfect blaze. A gallant young midshipman, in rocket-boat No. 8, although forbidden, was led by his ardent spirit to follow in support of the barge; in which attempt he was desperately wounded, his brother officer killed, and nine of

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his crew. The barge, by rowing more rapidly, had suffered less, and lost but two.

The enemy's batteries around my division were about ten o'clock silenced, and in a state of perfect ruin and dilapidation; and the fire of this ship was reserved as much as possible, to save powder, and reply to a few guns now and then bearing upon us; although a fort on the upper angle of the city, on which our guns could not be brought to bear, continued to annoy the ships by shot and shells during the whole time.

Providence at this interval gave to my anxious wishes the usual land-wind common in this bay. We were all hands employed warping and towing off, and by the help of the light air, the whole fleet were under sail, and came to anchor out of reach of shot and shells about two in the morning, after twelve hours' incessant labour.

The flotilla of mortar, gun, and rocket boats, under the direction of their respective artillery officers, shared to the full extent of their power in the honours of this day, and performed good service. It was by their fire that all the ships in the port, with the exception of the outer frigate, were in flames, which extended rapidly over the whole arsenal, storehouses, and gun-boats, exhibiting a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest no pen can describe.

The sloops of war, which had been appropriated to aid and assist the ships of the line, and prepare for their retreat, performed not only this duty well, but embraced every opportunity of firing through the intervals, and were constantly in motion.

The shells from the bombs were admirably well thrown by the Royal Marine Artillery; and although thrown directly across and over us, not an accident that I know of occurred to any ship.

The whole was conducted in perfect silence, and such a thing as a cheer I never heard in any part of the line; and that the guns were well worked and directed, will be seen

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for many years to come, and remembered by these barbarians for ever.

The conducting this ship to her station by the masters of the fleet and ship [1] excited the praise of all. The former has been my companion in arms for more than twenty years.

Having thus detailed, though but imperfectly, the progress of this short service, I venture to hope that the humble and devoted services of myself, the officers, and men of every description I have the honour to command, will be viewed by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent with his accustomed grace. The approbation of our services by our Sovereign, and the good opinion of our country, will, I venture to affirm, be received by us all with the highest satisfaction.

If I attempt to name to their Lordships the numerous officers who in such a conflict have at different periods been more conspicuous than their companions, I shall do injustice to many; and I trust there is no officer in the fleet under my command who will doubt the grateful feelings I shall ever cherish for their unbounded support. Not an officer or man confined his exertions within the precise limits of his own duty; all were eager to attempt services which I found more difficult to restrain than excite, and nowhere was this feeling more conspicuous than in my own captain, and those officers immediately about my person.

My gratitude and thanks are due to all, and I trust they will believe that the recollection of their services will never cease but with my life. In no instance have I ever seen more energy and zeal, from the smallest midshipman to the highest rank. All seemed animated with one soul, and which I shall with delight bear testimony to their Lordships, whenever that testimony can be useful.

I have confided this despatch to Rear-Admiral Milne, my second in command, from whom I have received, during the whole service entrusted to me, the most cordial and honour-

[1] Mr. Gaze and Mr. Lumsdale.

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able support. He is perfectly informed of every transaction of the fleet from the earliest period of my command, and is fully competent to give their Lordships satisfaction on any points which I may have overlooked, or have not time to state. I trust I have obtained from him his esteem and regard, and I regret I had not sooner been known to him.

The necessary papers, together with the defects of the ships, and the returns of killed and wounded, accompany this despatch, and I am happy to say Captains Ekins and Coode are doing well, and also the whole of the wounded.

By accounts from the shore I understand the enemy's loss in killed and wounded is between six and seven thousand men.

In recommending my officers and fleet to their Lordships' protection and favour,

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

EXMOUTH.

Mr. Shaler, the American consul-general, forwarded to his Government a graphic account of the battle, which he witnessed from his own house, situated on the seashore, within point-blank range of the British cannon, and exposed to the fire of a 74-gun ship. This perfectly impartial account is worthy of publication.[1]

Monday, August 26.—This evening my dragoman came in great trepidation to inform me that the British fleet was discerned from the mountains. The weather calm and hazy.

I directed him to go to the Dey and require a guard necessary for the protection of the consular house in case of a tumult.

Tuesday 27.—At daylight this morning the British fleet was in sight to the westward, the nearest about six miles

[1] Despatch to the Hon. J. Monroe, dated September 13, 1816.

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distant; calm weather with light airs from N.N.W., a strong current setting from the same quarter, as was known by the appearance of the ships in sight. At half-past nine the consul of Denmark came with his baggage to my house; all the other consuls left town. At about the same time we observed a boat detached from the fleet under a flag of truce; the breeze gradually freshens, a frigate under a flag of truce is detached from the fleet and stands off, and within a mile of the batteries. The boat anchors off the port at about eleven o'clock, and is met by an Algerine boat, the fleet standing in different directions. The Dutch form their line in very fine style. A French frigate and several merchant vessels got under weigh early and are seen standing out to sea. The dragoman reports that the Bashaw is satisfied with my intention to remain in town and with that of the Danish consul to stay with me; he renders our dragoman and guardians responsible for our safety from insult.

The mountain guard announce more ships to the westward. At three quarters past one, four bomb-ships take their positions very near. At a quarter past two, many signals are seen flying, and the manœuvres of the fleet, which is now near Montafus (*Cape Matafou*), indicate the intention of taking this also. At half-past two the boat is seen returning with a private signal flying. The British flag-ship wears and leads in with the wind rather fresh at north. The other ships form in his wake in the following order, viz. two 74, one 98, and one 74. The Dutch squadron forms the rear of the line of battle. A heavy frigate on the larboard quarter of the Admiral. The British frigates and light vessels stand in promiscuously. At three o'clock the British Admiral took his position in most gallant style within about fifty yards of the Mole head, the other ships taking theirs in succession in the same manner; at this moment the Algerines opened their fire upon the Admiral, and the battle instantly became general. At about twenty minutes past three the Marine batteries appeared to be silenced. The cannonade endures with a fury which can only be comprehended from practical

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experience; shells and rockets fly over and by my house like hail. The fire is returned with constancy from several batteries situated at the N.W. angle of the town, and from one of four heavy guns directly under my windows. These batteries are exposed only to an oblique fire and apparently have not suffered much. At five, an attempt was made to renew the fire from the Marine batteries, but it does not continue ten minutes. At half-past seven, the shipping in the port on fire. At half-past eight, the cannonade endures with unabated fury on the part of the English, and is returned from the batteries in this quarter. The upper part of my house appears to be destroyed, several shells have fallen into it, whole rooms are knocked to atoms; at nine, the fire slackened; at eleven, it appears to cease, is fully renewed at intervals; at half-past eleven, it ceases entirely. At one, from my terrace everything in the Marine appears on fire, two ships wrapped in flames have drifted out of the port and appear to have driven the combined fleets from their positions. Heavy thunder and rain. The lightning enables us to discover the combined fleets at anchor in the bay.

Wednesday 28.—Daylight exhibits the condition of the consular house; one room is completely destroyed by a shell, two others are in ruins, and a third and fourth very much damaged, my cabinet alone has escaped. The parapet of the terrace is partly destroyed, and the terrace is covered with shot and fragments of shells. The combined fleets are at anchor in the bay, apparently little damaged. Every part of the town appears to have suffered from shot and shells. The Marine batteries are in ruins and may be occupied without any effort. Lord Exmouth holds the fate of Algiers in his hands. Cool, cloudy weather; very little wind. Several ships are under weigh, and we expect the work of destruction will recommence as soon as the sea breeze sets in. At eleven, a flag of truce is seen coming from the fleet; at three, the Swedish Consul goes off. The British Consul comes to my house; his appearance is that of a man escaped from the most imminent danger. He informs me that on the previous

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night at seven o'clock he was taken from his place of confinement at his own house, loaded with heavy chains and confined in a dungeon in the palace, in company with a man condemned to death for murder, and was informed that their heads should fall together. At half-past four, the Swedish Consul returns and informs me that terms of peace are agreed upon.

The expenditure of ammunition during the action was beyond all parallel. The fleet fired nearly 118 tons of powder; 50,000 shot weighing more than 500 tons; nearly 1,000 shells, besides rockets and carcasses. The casualties in the British fleet were 128 killed, and 690 wounded; the Dutch lost 13 killed, and 52 wounded.

Mr. Shaler, still writing on September 13, adds:—

The loss on the part of the Algerines is very great, certainly not less than 2,000. Much has been done to suppress Algiers as a piratical power; all their ships are destroyed except the brig, formerly an American prize, and a schooner, which was in the late war, the *James Madison* privateer. The ruin of the batteries is very extensive. They cannot yet know the greatness of their misfortune, but time will discover it to them. At present they are very anxious to appear undismayed, and they are actually fitting their two remaining vessels for sea with great activity.

When the situation of the British Consul became perilous here, I came forward and offered him every assistance within my power, whether pecuniary or other, and when their officers and seamen were arrested and confined, I visited them and administered to all their wants as far as I was able, which I doubt not you will approve of. This has been noticed by Lord Exmouth in a very handsome manner.

The Arabic interpreter to Lord Exmouth, on board the *Queen Charlotte*, says: 'After the battle

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it was indeed astonishing to see the coat of his Lordship, how it was all cut up by musket balls behind, as if a person had taken a pair of scissors and cut it all to pieces.'[1] The Admiral was slightly wounded in three places, and his telescope was broken in his hand. The Dey was equally distinguished for personal gallantry; he showed himself wherever the danger was greatest, and it was not till all hope of further resistance was lost that he ceded to the entreaties of his friends and officers to accept the conditions of the Admiral. Had he consulted only his own wishes, he would have held out till every house in the city was in ruins.

The probable consequences, had the Algerines opened fire before the British vessels took up their positions, has been much canvassed; a distinguished officer on board the *Queen Charlotte*, relates that in a conversation after the action the observation was made: 'It was well for us that the land wind came off, or we should never have got out, and God knows what would have been our fate had we remained in the whole night.' The Admiral instantly replied: 'No man is more deeply sensible of the value of the land wind, which saved us many a gallant fellow; no man is more deeply grateful to Divine Providence for having so favoured us, than myself; but I have not wholly rested on such a contingency. I never dreamed of carrying my squadron where I could not withdraw them. My means were prepared, and I am sure that the exertions of my officers and men would

[1] *Narrative of the Expedition to Algiers*, by Mr. A. Salami.

have realised all my expectations.' The general opinion in the fleet was that their chief's plans were infallible.[1]

On August 28 a treaty of peace[2] was concluded ratifying former conventions, and a declaration was signed, to the effect that in the event of future wars with any European power none of the prisoners should be consigned to slavery, but treated with all humanity as prisoners of war, until regularly exchanged, according to European practice in like cases, and that at the termination of hostilities they should be restored to their respective countries without ransom; and the practice of condemning Christian prisoners of war to slavery was formally and for ever renounced.

It was also stipulated that all slaves in the dominion of the Dey, to whatever nation they belonged, should be at once liberated, and accordingly 1,642 captives were sent on board the fleet; they were of the following nationalities:—

Sicilians and Neapolitans	1,110
Sardinians and Genoese	62
Piedmontese	6
Romans	174
Tuscans	6
Spaniards	226
Portuguese	1
Greeks	7
Dutch	28
English	18
French	2
Austrians	2
Total	1,642

[1] *Life of Lord Exmouth*, p. 440. [2] Hertslet's *Treaties*, vol. i. p. 86.

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These, with the captives liberated a short time before at Tripoli and Tunis, made a total of 3,003 freed by Lord Exmouth.

The Dey was further compelled to restore all the sums he had received from the Italian States since the commencement of the year, amounting to £389,500, and some small compensation was made to the consul for the losses he had sustained. The kingdom of the Netherlands was for the future to be placed on exactly the same footing as Great Britain, and was to enjoy all privileges accorded to the latter; and, lastly, the Dey made a public apology in the presence of his ministers and officers, and begged pardon of the consul in terms dictated by the captain of the *Queen Charlotte*.[1]

The sufferings of the unfortunate consul had been very great. For several weeks he had been imprisoned in one of the lower apartments of his own house, deprived of all communication with other Europeans, and even of fresh air, during the greatest violence of the summer heat, his only sustenance being one meal a day brought to him by his guards. On the day of the bombardment he was dragged half-naked to the Kasbah, his hands tied behind his back. He was confined in a dilapidated and roofless dungeon, chains were riveted by a blacksmith to his wrists and ankles, and fastened to a staple in the wall. To the roar of the artillery succeeded that of thunder and torrential rain, to which he was exposed all night. Next morning two small loaves were

[1] General Order by Lord Exmouth, August 30.

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given, as the only nourishment for himself and two malefactors who shared his captivity, and it was not till 4 P.M. that he was released from this state of suffering, on the Dey's becoming convinced of the danger of persevering in the course he had so wantonly adopted. During his absence his house was plundered of plate, jewels and other property, to a considerable amount.

The very steps which the Dey adopted to heap misery and suffering on his victim were, however, in all probability the cause of his safety. During the bombardment thirty shots had passed through the consulate, and nine were collected in the very room so lately occupied by the consul.

The allied squadron sailed from Algiers on September 4, after having reinstated Mr. McDonell in the consulate.

Before Lord Exmouth resigned his command in the Mediterranean he addressed Mr. McDonell in these terms:[1] 'I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of offering you my public thanks for the assistance I have received from your activity and intelligence, in my late negotiations with the Regency of Algiers, and more especially for the manly firmness you have displayed throughout all the violence and embarrassments occasioned by the late discussions, of which it will afford me sincere pleasure to bear testimony to His Majesty's ministers on my return to England.'

The lesson of the bombardment was undoubtedly a sharp one, but it did not go far enough and it was

[1] Despatch dated May 20 1816.

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soon forgotten. The right of these pirates to make war on the nations of Europe was not denied them, and it even received a formal recognition by the new treaty. It might be interesting to speculate on the result had we then for ever put an end to the most execrable Government that ever existed in the basin of the Mediterranean. As usual we lost our opportunity; still the expedition of Lord Exmouth is a page in our national history of which we have good reason to be proud, hardly dimmed by the weak and inglorious nature of our subsequent relations with the Regency.

Mr. Shaler, writing to his Government, gives an account of the result of the bombardment, and of the general condition of the Regency:[1]—

> The Marine batteries are a continuous mass of stone works of the most solid structure, the result of the labour of several thousand slaves during a succession of years, and mounted with about 175 pieces of cannon. As they cannot be visited, it is impossible to estimate the damage they have suffered, but as five heavy ships and several frigates played upon them for the space of eight hours and a half, the damage must be very great; it is probably equal to what their external appearance indicates. The city has suffered incredibly; there is hardly a house without some damage, and many are ruined. Great patience, time, and expense seem necessary to replace their works in the state they were previous to the battle. Of their too celebrated navy, a brig, a schooner, and seven gun-boats only remain; of the latter, however, they are daily raising many which were sunk. Of cannon and mortars they have yet a formidable train; much of their ammunition has been expended; their powder was

[1] *Archives of the United States Consulate.*

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discovered to be of a very inferior quality, and that which remains is probably worse.

The moral effects of the battle which are perceptible, are total discouragement and despair on the part of the natives, and rage and mortified pride on that of the Turks. They have long cherished, and not without reason, a belief of their superior prowess by land and sea, and within little more than a year they have seen the complete practical refutation of both these absurd theories. The Dey, who is a man of invincible intrepidity and extraordinary energy of character, endeavours to inculcate the opinion that they may rise again. His activity, since the peace with England, has been unremitting in remounting his cannon upon the ruined batteries, and making every practicable preparation to resist an attack which he seems to have believed inevitable from us. He is, however, accused by the Turks of being the cause of their present ruin, in the first place for not seeking an accommodation with England while it was practicable without dishonour, and in the second for losing the battle by not firing on the combined fleets before they took up their positions.

This factious banditti have proceeded to the most violent deliberations; the death of the Dey and the massacre and plunder of the Moorish citizens of Algiers, who they pretend did not do their duty in the battle, have been alternately debated in the barracks. The senseless frenzy of these outlaws has so far been controlled by the firmness and liberality of the Pasha, but there is great reason to apprehend that they may yet break out and deluge Algiers with blood.

The existence of Algiers, if it were confined to themselves, would not merit any attention; but as this existence has been permitted to have a very important influence upon the commercial world, the probability of their rising again becomes an interesting inquiry.

From information that seems to be correct, the whole number of Turks in the Regency does not exceed 3,000 men; these alone are eligible for any office of honour, profit, or trust. The number of Koulouglis (descendants of Turks

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and Moorish women) cannot be under 12,000. This class has some privileges, but they have not a common feeling with the Turks. There is also a body of enrolled seamen, whose number cannot be ascertained; they are generally Algerines and receive a small monthly pay from Government. The rest of the population consists of Moors, Arabs, Biscaries, Kabyles and Jews, enjoying no rights and subject to every sort of oppression.

The number of persons in the pay of the Regency is not under 18,000; the maximum of their pay is six dollars a month, and the minimum three dollars for two months. The average of their pay cannot be less than two dollars and a half per month, making an aggregate of $45,000 per month. They have besides a body of 500 labourers, employed upon the public works, whose pay and subsistence may be estimated at not less than $1,500 per month, which makes an aggregate of $552,000 per annum. The frequent largesses exacted by the miltary must amount to a very considerable sum, and that which is required to keep up and augment their *matériel*, to a much greater amount.

Nothing is more difficult than to obtain a correct notion of the revenues of Algiers. At present they receive about $130,000 per annum from the tributary powers, including $50,000 from Great Britain for the monopoly of the trade of Bona. I understand the latter has thrown up this contract; if so it will probably be taken by France on the same terms. The commerce of Algiers is too inconsiderable to be mentioned as a source of revenue, and it is yearly decaying. What they obtain by direct taxes on the interior cannot be known, but as they are collected by the military in the most violent and oppressive manner, insurrections are constantly excited and the source of internal revenue gradually exhausted. The neighbourhood of Algiers, beyond the radius of five miles, is reduced to a state of nature. I am informed by a gentleman long resident here, and who has written upon the subject, that their fixed territorial revenues seven years ago did not amount to $350,000. It appears then that the ex-

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penditure of this Government greatly exceeds its income; the deficit has been hitherto made good by plunder and by extortions from the different maritime nations. An instance of this was seen in the year previous to our last treaty, when they seized and confiscated the cargoes of several Swedish and Spanish ships, amounting to the enormous sum of $400,000, and which was acquiesced in. Whether, in the actual state of things, they may safely calculate upon the same forbearance, and upon the payment of the stipulated tribute and presents, is yet to be seen.

It is impossible to ascertain the amount of specie in the public treasury. Some estimate it at $10,000,000, while others pretend that it does not exceed half that sum. But admitting it to be even below the latter amount, it certainly furnishes a sure resource to place Algiers as a piratical power upon a very mischievous footing again, if it should be the policy of the leading maritime nations to tolerate it. Their power, though humbled, is not broken, and every exertion is being made to reorganise the force that has been left them. The brig and schooner were immediately equipped, and the latter sailed in a few days for Constantinople, where they expect much aid towards the restoration of their maritime power. They are now preparing to begin the construction of a corvette, which may very probably be ready for sea before the month of May next.

Although it is not probable that a hostile fleet would again be permitted to take up their positions without being fired on, yet the attack of August 27 has demonstrated the important truth that all the principal works may be turned, and that Algiers may be destroyed by shell without the bomb-vessels being exposed to any dangerous fire. It does not appear that this state of things can be materially changed before midsummer next, as the ruin of the batteries must be much increased by the winter storms, and little can be done towards repairing them before next spring.

On March 2, 1817, Consul Shaler again reported

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that the repairs to their defensive works had been entirely completed.

Omar Dey had repeatedly declared that the existence of Algiers depended on the maintenance of her institutions in all their vigour, and he pledged himself to restore her ancient reputation. The spoils of the commercial world, accumulated in the Treasury through a succession of ages, afforded an ample fund for the achievement of this object. Nevertheless he had acquired the dangerous reputation of being unfortunate, and the breaking out of the plague at this time determined his fate. He was strangled by the soldiery on September 16, 1817.

He was succeeded by Ali Khoja, who greatly affected literature, whence his name, but who was perhaps the greatest tyrant and libertine who ever sat upon the throne of Algiers. Shaler says that when he received the visit of foreign consuls, these had to pass a score of corpses before reaching his presence, when they were sure to find him magnificently dressed, with a book in his hand, as if their entrance had disturbed him in his studies.

Fearing that he might share the fate of so many of his predecessors, he determined to transport all the Government treasure to the Kasbah, and to shut himself up in that fortress. Fifty mules were employed every night for more than a fortnight in this service, from which it has been inferred that the treasure could not have been less than $50,000,000. This caused an insurrection of the Janissaries, which he only suppressed by the most relentless persecu-

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tions. He is said to have decapitated more than 1,500 of them; indeed it is believed that he entertained the idea of exterminating that body altogether, and making the throne hereditary in his own family. As Christian slaves were no longer obtainable, he filled his harem with all the most attractive European girls whom he could entice into his power. One instance of his violence created a great sensation in Europe, and was warmly taken up by that most chivalrous of philanthropists, Sir Sidney Smith, in his capacity as President of the Anti-Piratic Association, an order of knights for the redemption of slaves in Barbary.

A Sardinian girl, named Rosa Ponsombio, who was engaged to be married, was induced on some pretext to go with her mother one evening to the French consulate; on her return she was waylaid by emissaries of the Dey, who, throwing a cloth over her head, carried her off to his seraglio. The poor girl was forced to change her religion and her dress; but one day she found means of throwing a paper over the wall, addressed to the British Consul, informing him of her sad condition, and warning him, as well as the Spanish and Dutch Consuls, to look well after their own daughters, as a similar fate was reserved for them. Indeed, after the Dey's death, a book of memoranda was found amongst his effects containing this entry: 'Mr. McDonell's daughter, pretty and young, for my harem; the Spanish Consul's daughter, who is ugly, to serve the favourite; I shall have the English Consul's head cut off, and that of the Spanish

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Consul also, and all the consuls shall be killed if they dare to complain.'

Notwithstanding the unremitting efforts of Sir Sidney Smith, and his complaints of the action taken by the French Consul in the matter, to the French Minister, M. de Richelieu, she remained in captivity till Ali Khoja's death.

Another equally flagrant case occurred, in which the victims were Jews under British protection. On November 22, 1817, Mr. Bensamon, Arabic interpreter to the Consulate, and his sister, were carried off to the Dey's palace; the girl was at once taken to the harem, and her brother was compelled, under threats of instant execution, to embrace the Mohammedan religion. When he had done so, the Dey told him that he would order a salute to be fired for his conversion, so that the consul should not imagine that he was afraid of the British fleet or of anything else. Bensamon was allowed to return home after a few days, but the girl was retained in the seraglio. Mr. Bensamon thus concludes his petition to the consul, written in excellent English: 'All classes of people, Christians, Turks, Moors and Jews, excepting the French Consul and Backri, are exasperated at the treatment I have received, which will, I think, serve to shorten his reign. Backri is still persecuting me, therefore I deemed proper to give to different persons about $3,000 only to save my life.'[1]

Immediately after the death of Ali Khoja, H.M.'s frigate *Spartan* and the sloop of war *Spey* were

[1] *Records of British Consulate-General.*

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sent to demand the release of these two young women, and an indemnity of $5,000 was accorded to each.

The plague, which had broken out in 1817, spread rapidly throughout the country, where it assumed a character even more malignant than in the city. The Dey continued to send out his plague-stricken cruisers against the vessels of Prussia and the Hanse Towns especially; but they visited those of every other nation, and thus spread the contagion all over the Mediterranean. He had a fiendish delight in thus propagating the fell disease, and he even on one occasion attempted the life of Mr. McDonell, by causing a wretch who had it, to cast his cloak on the consul's shoulders; retribution, however, speedily overtook him, and he died of it himself on March 1, 1818.

His successor, Hussein bin Hassan, took immediate steps to hasten the equipment of the Algerine cruisers, but he yielded to the representations of the British Government that they should not be sent forth during the continuance of the plague. The average number of deaths from that disease was fifty daily; it was computed that 16,000 souls had died of it in Algiers, while Constantina, Bona and Blidah were almost depopulated. The pestilence appeared to act with the greatest rapidity, few lived beyond twenty-four hours, and there was hardly an instance of recovery from it.

The first act of the new Dey was to replace the power in the hands of the Turks, or such of them as had escaped the fury of Ali Khoja, and he showed himself as tenacious as any of his predecessors of the

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humiliating ceremonies imposed on foreign agents at his court as acts of homage, the most offensive of which was the kissing of hands. The British and French representatives had emancipated themselves from most of these ceremonies, but they were still exacted from all officers under the rank of consul-general.

At the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, held in the end of 1818, it was determined to take measures to repress the piracies of the Barbary corsairs.[1] The Count de Capo d'Istria called the attention of the Conference to the question, and it was resolved that the plenipotentiaries of France and England, representing the nations which naturally carried the greatest weight at Algiers, should be invited to make serious representations, warning the Government of the Regency that the infallible effect of their continuing a system hostile to peaceful commerce would be to unite the powers of Europe in a general league against them.

Accordingly, in September 1819, a combined French and English squadron arrived in the Bay of Algiers, and Admirals Jurien and Freemantle addressed the following identical note to the Regency:—

> The powers of Europe, which met last year at Aix-la-Chapelle, have charged France and England to make in their name serious representations to the Barbary States regarding the necessity of their discontinuing the depredations and acts of violence committed by armed vessels of these regencies.
>
> We come in the name of their Majesties the Kings of

[1] Protocol No. 89, November 20.

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France and England, and as their delegates, to notify to you the wishes of the European powers. These powers have irrevocably determined to put down a system of piracy, which is not only contrary to the general interests of those States, but which is also destructive of all hope of prosperity for those who practise it. If the regencies persist in a system hostile to pacific commerce, they will inevitably provoke against them a general league of all European States; and they should consider, before it be too late, that the effect of such a league will endanger their very existence.

But before laying before you the serious consequences likely to result from a continuance of piratical acts which excite the complaints of Europe, we hasten to assure you that if the regencies will renounce such a disastrous system, the powers are desirous, not only of retaining amicable relations with them, but of encouraging every kind of commercial enterprise likely to be useful to their respective subjects. The powers, in whose name we have the honour to address you, are quite united regarding the important object of the mission which we have been charged to fulfil, and we are the faithful interpreters of their intentions.

We trust that, enlightened as to your true interests, you will not hesitate to reply in a satisfactory manner to the demands which we have made to you. The European powers limit themselves to a desire that the Barbary regencies will respect the rights and usages held sacred by every civilised nation; if the regencies pretend that they may trouble at their pleasure the commerce of other nations, they will inevitably draw on themselves the hostility of Europe. Be pleased, therefore, to give us the assurances that our sovereigns expect from you, and are impatient to transmit to their allies, on a subject which they have profoundly at heart. But in a matter of such importance verbal promises will not suffice; a solemn compact is required for the security of the navigation and commerce of all the States, and as we make a written declaration to you of the intentions of the allied powers, we have reason to hope that

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you will reply in a similar manner to this demand. We shall hasten to communicate to our Governments the positive engagement that you may forward to us, for, we repeat, we cannot imagine that you will reject the propositions, which must have the effect of securing to you the commercial advantages guaranteed by the laws of nations.

Had the allied sovereigns really been sincere in their determination to put down piracy, there would have been no difficulty in compelling the Barbary States to obey their mandate; but the Pasha probably suspected that there was little fear of united action against him, and he positively refused to make the required declaration, or to give any written reply, alleging that the rights of the Algerines were recognised by solemn treaties, and had been respected by the whole world for several centuries.

He accentuated his refusal by commencing at once to throw up lines and redoubts all round the city, and he subsequently boasted of having set all the powers of Europe at defiance.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

CONSULATE OF HUGH MCDONELL CONTINUED—EXPEDITION OF SIR HARRY NEALE.

1823—1824.

TOWARDS the end of October 1823 news was received at Algiers that the Kabyles, who inhabit the mountainous district around Bougia, had revolted against the Government of that place; several persons were killed on both sides, and a Turkish Mufti was taken prisoner and carried off as a hostage.[1] These Kabyles furnished nearly all the free labourers obtainable at Algiers, and they were especially prized by the consuls' families as servants, on account of their fidelity. The Dey sent a message to all the consuls, through their respective dragomans, requiring them to surrender any members of these tribes who might be in their service, in order that they should be treated as rebels, or hostages for the good behaviour of their brethren.

Mr. McDonell had a number of them in his service, and he immediately answered with becoming dignity that he would never consent to deliver them

[1] I am principally indebted to the journals and official correspondence of Mr. William Shaler for an account of the events terminating in Sir Harry Neale's expedition against Algiers.

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up, alleging as reasons for his refusal the laws of nations and even the customs of the country, where the rights of hospitality were esteemed sacred. The Consul of the United States sent a similar reply, and informed the Khasnadji that he was unable to repulse force by force, and would make no effort to resist the arms of public authority ; yet to obtain the men in question it would be necessary to seize them in, and drag them from, the most inviolable part of his own residence. The French Consul, after an interview with the Minister of Marine, returned to his house, called all his Kabyles together, paid them their wages and dismissed them from his service, in presence of the dragoman and guardian, thus abandoning them to their enemies and renouncing the right of defending them in the name of the Government which he represented. The Consul of Holland on hearing what had passed assembled his Kabyles and gave them their choice of either remaining under his protection or seeking safety in flight ; they elected the latter course, and so his house was respected.

Late in the evening of October 25 an armed troop proceeded to the English garden and demanded the surrender of the Kabyles. Mr. McDonell at once put the official seals on his doors and hoisted above them the British flag. Nevertheless later in the day, by an express order from the Pasha, the seals were broken, the doors were forced, and the house everywhere searched in the most scandalous manner, without even sparing the apartments of his wife and daughters, which should have been considered a

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sacred asylum; this was the greatest insult which could have been offered in a Mohammedan country.

On October 27 the English Consul proposed that a protest against these arbitrary acts should be made by the European consuls, but it was not until early in December that this document was drawn out and presented by the consuls in a body to the Minister of Marine and Foreign Affairs, who promised to communicate it to the Pasha.

The French Consul, a few days later, sent a despatch to Mr. McDonell, stating that his Government viewed with the greatest indignation the conduct of the Regency, that it regarded the European consulates at Algiers as inviolable, and it directed him to take, in concert with the English Consul, such measures as the latter might deem proper in the conjuncture, even though they should result in war.

On January 9, 1824, an English vessel arrived from Smyrna, bringing sixty recruits for the corps of Janissaries. Immediately on its arrival several Algerines went on board, and, without any apparent reason, grossly insulted the English captain. A few days later an Algerine cruiser brought in a prize taken under the Spanish flag. The officers and crew were immediately reduced to slavery, in defiance of the Treaty of 1816; this event excited unbounded joy among the population, who saluted it as a presage of renewed prosperity for Algiers. The English Consul protested against the treatment inflicted on the crew; the Pasha replied curtly to his message, that the treaty in question had only been concluded for

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three years, and that Christian slavery should now recommence in Algiers.

On January 28 the British frigate *Naïad*, commanded by Captain the Hon. R. C. Spencer, arrived from the Tagus, with despatches to the consul relative to the events of the previous October. His conduct was entirely approved, and additional articles were forwarded by the British Government for the Dey's signature, establishing more clearly the rights which that affair had called in question. The Dey hesitated to sign them, pretending that he did not believe in their authority. Even if the affair of the Kabyles could have been amicably arranged, that of renewing slavery was a much more serious matter, and the consul deemed it his duty to embark his family on board the *Naïad*, and that all future negotiations should be conducted by Captain Spencer. Mr. McDonell recommended his houses, servants and effects to the care of the American Consul-General, and as Mrs. McDonell had embarked at a moment's notice, without even the most indispensable articles of apparel, Mr. Shaler's first duty was to cause that lady's effects to be packed up and to demand permission to have them sent on board.

On January 31 the Pasha sent a message to Captain Spencer by the Port Admiral, Hadji-Ali-Raïs, who was known for his intelligence and liberal views, expressly renouncing the pretensions of reducing the Spanish prisoners to slavery, and promising that they should be treated as simple prisoners of war. He agreed to sign the articles proposed, and did not seem to make

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any great objection to what he considered the most inadmissible of them, the right of the consul to hoist the British flag at his town residence. These matters had been discussed at a Divan; the Dey obstinately maintained that no concession should be made, but he was obliged to defer to the opinion of all the other members, which was contrary to his. In the mean time Captain Spencer had landed and had embarked a large quantity of baggage which the consul had caused to be prepared. Subsequently the Pasha withdrew his concession in the matter of the flag, and declared his intention of writing to the King of England, stating that he preferred war to dishonour. Captain Spencer replied that he had no discretionary power—the Pasha must sign unconditionally the articles submitted to him, or he must leave Algiers. The Dey asked if his departure was to be considered as tantamount to a declaration of war. Captain Spencer replied that he had no communication to make on this subject. Mr. McDonell again recommended to the American Consul all that he had been obliged to leave behind him, and he confided the consulates of Naples, Portugal, Austria and Tuscany, which were under his administration, to an *employé* who had been long in his service, M. Louis Granet. On the same day the *Naïad* and the brig *Cameleon*, which had arrived that very morning, weighed anchor.

As soon as the vessels had sailed, Mr. Shaler went to the Minister of Marine and Foreign Affairs, accompanied by his dragoman and M. Granet as inter-

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preter, and informed him that as he was well aware of the bonds of friendship which united him to the English Consul, he would not be surprised to learn that all the effects which belonged to the latter had been committed to his care; that in consequence it was his intention to hoist the American flag at the English garden and generally to take under his protection all that Mr. McDonell had left. The minister made no objection and gave the necessary orders.

Mr. Shaler narrates[1] that on the same day that he took possession of the English garden (January 31, 1824), a small Algerine cruiser was observed in the offing, chased by the English vessels, which kept up an uninterrupted fire upon her. The former supported it with extraordinary courage for about an hour, till darkness hid them from view; for three-quarters of an hour the English vessels had fired upon it from half pistol range without being able to force it to surrender. On the following morning it appeared at anchor in the bay, dismasted, and making signals of distress; it was towed in during the day, when it was ascertained that four men had been killed and eight wounded. The captain and his Spanish prisoners had been taken out of her.

The following is an account of the action taken from the log of H.M.S. *Naïad*[2]:—

At 3.30 P.M. observed a strange sail standing in for the land; hoisted our colours and fired a shotted gun to make the

[1] *Journal of the American Consulate.*

[2] Communicated to the author by the nephew of the commander, Earl Spencer, K.G.

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stranger show his; saw they were Algerine. Tacked ship in chase; signalled *Cameleon* to chase E.N.E.; made all sail and opened our larboard broadside on the chase, who made all sail away. At 4 P.M. the chase bore E.S.E. one mile and a half, running right in for the Bay of Algiers; we being between him and the town he could not steer for it. We kept up a constant fire of round shot till five, when we neared her and commenced firing grape and canister, which he returned with a few guns and small arms—the *Cameleon* also firing into him. At six, all the sails, rigging, fore and main yards, jibboom and other spars, being shot away on board the enemy, and being close off the shoals, tacked ship, leaving him unmanageable with only about five hands on deck. At 6.10, hove to and observed the *Cameleon* board the corvette; wore ship and hailed him to let go the prize's anchor, he informed me that he had possession of him; shortened sail and anchored in eighteen fathoms water; sent boats and found the prize to be the *Tripoli*, eighteen 24-pounder carronades and eighty men, Raïs Cadoudje, coming in from a cruise and bound for Algiers, having on board seventeen Spanish slaves, whom, with her captain, we took out of her, she being too much shattered and cut up to bring out; cut away the anchor, but from the lumbered state of the cable it did not bring her up, and we left her drifting in close upon the town with the wind and swell both right on. At eight boats returned, found foretopgallant yards, maintopgallant mast, several sails and some rope shot away by the enemy's fire.

The captain was sent back to Algiers on the conclusion of peace.

Admiral Lord Clarence Paget, who was present at the action as a midshipman, informed the writer that the captain of the prize behaved in a manner that elicited universal admiration, and, indeed, the honours

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of war on this occasion seem to be due rather to the conquered than to the conquerors. No formal declaration of war had been made, and the Dey subsequently remarked that had he been aware of Captain Spencer's intentions, he would certainly have arrested both him and the consul. He actually sent orders to imprison the English Vice-Consul at Oran, but that gentleman happening also to be American agent, on a representation from Mr. Shaler he was immediately released.

On February 11 a French squadron, consisting of four frigates and a schooner, arrived in the bay. The commandant landed and had an audience of the Dey, but he was not permitted to do so till he had taken off his sword. The same formality had been exacted from Captain Spencer; this was a newly-revived pretension on the part of His Highness, as Mr. Shaler had frequently introduced American officers, who always wore their swords. The object of the mission was to take advantage of the relations between the Regency and England, and to press for the solution of a question relative to the possession of a house and garden at Bona, then occupied by the English Vice-Consul, but which had been an object of litigation between England and France for seven years. The demand was complied with, and an order was sent that the French should be put in possession. The American Consul represented to the Regency that they would do well to consider the fact of their being at war with a great and powerful nation, and if it was not their intention to push this war to extremity, sound policy demanded

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that they should abstain from any measures likely to produce irritation, or which might render the rupture more serious; that this right of possession accorded under existing circumstances to the French Consul at Bona would probably be regarded by the British Government as a fresh injury; that the conduct of the French Consul under existing circumstances was not remarkable for generosity, and would most probably be blamed by his own Government; he therefore recommended that if peace were desired, this cession should be suspended, and that no steps should be taken likely to complicate matters. The Pasha admitted that he had been too hasty, thanked the American Consul for his counsel, and begged him to inform the British Government that he was ready to do anything in his power likely to conduce towards the restoration of peace.

At a subsequent interview with His Highness and the Divan, Mr. Shaler repeated what he had said, and insisted strongly on the necessity of liberating the Spanish prisoners, as he felt sure that the question of renewing Christian slavery at Algiers was the one which would prove the most difficult to arrange; that as regarded hoisting the British flag in the city, he thought this point might be waived if it were explained that such a right was contrary to the religious prejudices of the people. They listened to these propositions with the greatest attention, and with the air of men who were of the same opinion, excepting in the matter of sending back the Spanish prisoners, to which they showed the greatest repugnance, and

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they finished by requesting the consul to send a letter from them to the British Government.

On February 22, H.M.S. *Regent*, bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Sir Harry B. Neale, accompanied by the *Naïad*, arrived in the bay. At the earnest solicitation of the Dey, Mr. Shaler proceeded on board to ask the Admiral what were his intentions; the latter replied that Great Britain considered itself at war with the Regency, but that he had no particular instructions, except to maintain a rigorous blockade, and to adopt every measure of hostility that he might think advisable, until the Dey consented to sign the declaration that had been submitted to him by His Majesty's Government. On the following day the Pasha sent off a message stating that he was ready to submit to all the British demands except the right of hoisting the flag in town, and he repeated what he had stated in his letter to Lord Bathurst, that the Regency was ready to expose itself to the worst chances of a war rather than consent to such an article.

On the receipt of this message Sir Harry Neale weighed anchor. Mr. Shaler, seeing that the majority of the Algerine Cabinet was desirous of peace, was determined to use all his efforts to promote it. He pointed out the danger of their position; that it was ridiculous for Algiers to contend against England, and that if once the questions in dispute, now so easy to settle, should become national ones, the war would necessarily terminate in the ruin of Algiers. The Agha of Janissaries thoroughly understood the state

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of the case, and begged Mr. Shaler to make some excuse to get an interview with the Pasha, as neither he nor any other Algerine dared represent the true state of the case to him. The Dey received him with much politeness, but replied by arguments drawn from the most absurd notions of fatalism, and by the most ridiculous presumption. He added that, in spite of his desire to conclude an honourable peace, he would never consent to the return of Mr. McDonell as representative of his nation at Algiers. Mr. Shaler remarks: 'It is interesting to record that this consul has several very young children; that his dominating passions are gardening and agriculture, and that no one could charge him with the slightest abuse of power.' This conveys a very inadequate idea of Mr. McDonell's character. For many years he had rendered excellent service to the State. The Duke of Kent had always entertained the highest opinion of his character and abilities, and maintained a constant personal correspondence with him. A letter written by Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey contains a most flattering testimony to his worth: 'His Royal Highness has always understood, from those who have had occasion to be acquainted with his proceedings at Algiers, that his conduct has invariably met with the highest approbation of Government for the judgment and firmness he has evinced in the most trying moments, a circumstance peculiarly gratifying to the Duke, who reflects with pleasure upon his being the first who brought him forward.'

For the next few days the number of vessels of

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BOMBARDMENT OF ALGIERS BY SIR HARRY NEALE IN 1824.

(FROM A NATIVE DRAWING)

the squadron varied considerably. On March 7 it consisted of the flagship and six frigates, and still maintained a rigorous blockade. Mr. Shaler learnt that the vice-consul and several British subjects at Bona had been put in prison and treated with excessive rigour. He remonstrated against this useless severity, and received from the Dey an assurance that they would be at once set at liberty, and treated with all the indulgence possible towards prisoners of war. During the month of March several messages were sent by the Admiral under flag of truce. The Pasha was so irritated at finding himself alone in the council, in the question of the dispute between Algiers and Great Britain, that he affected to believe that the Admiral was not authorised to treat definitively with him on the subject of peace or war, and that the result was a reciprocal misunderstanding. Sir Harry Neale sent one of his captains on shore to represent him, but he was kept waiting for three hours, after which time the Pasha refused to receive him at all, declaring that he would only treat with the Admiral in person.

Sir Harry Neale, carrying forbearance to its utmost limit, landed on March 28, and had an interview with the Dey; the latter agreed to all the articles of peace, excepting to the return of Mr. McDonell, whom he positively refused to receive. On the 29th the Admiral weighed anchor and left the bay. On the day following the interview, the Pasha ordered Mr. Bensamon, his Jewish interpreter, to write to the Admiral on the back of one of his own letters to this

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effect: That he had not declared war upon England, and that he did not believe that he had given that nation any excuse for declaring it on him; that he desired peace, and would accept the conditions proposed by the Admiral, but that nothing would induce him to receive back Mr. McDonell; that he had just received, by express, the news of an attack made on the town of Bona by two English frigates; that a neutral vessel had been captured, much damage caused, and several of his subjects killed and wounded; this conduct did not appear to him in accordance with the language of the Admiral at the previous day's conference. This letter was written in bad English, signed by the Pasha, and, in accordance with his express instructions, wrapped up in a bit of dirty paper, and so sent to the Admiral. Well might Mr. Shaler remark: 'When one sees the insolent pride of these barbarians, their ignorance of the forms usual in diplomatic relations, and the too great forbearance which the English Admiral has shown in these negotiations, one can hardly venture to hope for an honourable result to the war between Algiers and Great Britain.'

The incident at Bona is thus alluded to by Lord Clarence Paget:[1] 'During the spring of 1824 we were continually blockading the coast between Algiers and Bona. At the latter place we sent the boats in at night and burnt a brig of war under the batteries, for which feat the officer in command was promoted.'

On July 11, Sir Harry Neale, with his flag on

[1] In a private letter to the Author.

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board H.M.S. *Revenge*, anchored in the bay, about three miles from the sea batteries. Three frigates anchored successively to the south. On the following day several other vessels joined the squadron, and a small brig was detached to anchor in front of the entrance of the port. In the evening the Algerines sent out their flotilla to manœuvre as usual. Thinking that the brig was within range, they fired on her, and then commenced a general cannonade between the squadron, the flotilla, and the batteries, which lasted an hour; it was supposed that the Admiral provoked this fire to learn the range of the Algerine batteries.

On July 24 the British squadron, consisting of twenty-two vessels including a steamer, anchored before the town. The flotilla commenced to open fire, and a brisk cannonade ensued, which was only stopped by a signal from the Kasbah.

Lord Clarence Paget says of this action: 'It was altogether a sorry affair, and the only thing interesting about it was the appearance, for the first time in action, of a war steamer, which had her funnel shot away. The strange thing was that out of this little Mole there came daily hundreds of fine galleys fully armed, and no one could understand how they could find room for them, besides several large frigates and corvettes inside.'

The Admiral consented to re-open negotiations, at the same time disposing his squadron for a more efficient attack if necessary, in a curved line, facing the town, about a mile in extent. The Pasha sent to

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inform the Admiral that he would accede to all the British demands except the return of the consul. He said he had no personal objection to him, but that he had become so odious to the people that he was sure if he landed he would not be able to protect him against their fury. This was altogether a false pretext, but the Pasha had it in his power to give it the colour of truth, by instigating a tumultuous mob to receive Mr. McDonell on debarking. Instead of holding the Algerine Government responsible, a matter which would have been very simple with such imposing forces at command, the Admiral, through motives of humanity, refused to allow him to be exposed to so great danger, and consented that a pro-consul should take charge of the consulate. Thus the expedition proved like the fable of the mountain in labour, and Hussein Pasha, by obstinately following a line of politics contrary to the opinion of all his council, raised himself to a degree of moral power and consideration such as few Deys in modern times had attained. Mr. Shaler visited the Admiral on board the *Revenge*; the latter begged him in case of necessity to assist the pro-consul with his advice; he also met his friend Mr. McDonell, the victim of these strange negotiations. Mr. Shaler landed in company with the pro-consul, Mr. Danford, and took him to the American Consulate till his own house could be got ready.

Before leaving Algiers, the Admiral, accompanied by Captains Spencer, Bliffond, Burrard, and several other officers, went on shore, visited Mr Shaler,

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bade farewell to the Dey, and after a collation at the American Consulate, returned on board, leaving the *Naïad* still in the bay. Mr. Shaler demanded an audience from the Minister of Marine, to whom he spoke about M. Granet, the English Vice-Consul, whom the Government would not permit, even at the request of the British authorities, to reside any longer at Algiers, although he was the only person able to arrange the pecuniary affairs of Mr. McDonell. With great difficulty he succeeded in obtaining permission for him to remain for a short period. The *Naïad* left on August 11, Captain Spencer having first addressed a very cordial letter of thanks to Mr. Shaler for the great assistance he had rendered to himself and to the squadron generally. Mr. McDonell himself in a letter to his wife says of this good and faithful friend: 'Poor Shaler is overwhelmed; his conduct has been beyond all praise.'

The substance of the declarations made by the Dey have already been given; they may be found *in extenso* in Hertslet's 'Treaties,' vol. iii. p. 14; another declaration, not published, regarding hoisting the flag on the consulate in town, which point was also waived, is as follows:—

His Highness the Dey of Algiers, in proof of his sincere disposition to respect and maintain inviolably for the future the rights and privileges that are attached to the person and residences of His Britannic Majesty's consul, consents to sign the declaration that has been presented to him; but the Dey, having represented the nature of his repugnance against that part of the declaration which stipulates that His Majesty's flag shall be hoisted on the town house of the British Consul,

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requests that His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland will not require a strict compliance with that part of the declaration.

The Dey, however, assures His Majesty, in the strongest and most explicit terms, that it is not intended by His Highness that the absence of the flag over the consul's house, within the town of Algiers, shall be considered as depriving that house in any degree of any right or privilege which may attach to the hoisting of that flag over the consul's house in the country.

Mr. McDonell was as badly treated as many of his predecessors had been; he was pensioned off in the prime of life, and the Government declined to support a heavy claim he had on the Portuguese Government for money advanced by him to the Dey on account of that power. Perhaps he was too outspoken, and not very judicious in the manner in which he had commented on British policy. Such offences were not readily pardoned at the beginning of this century.

It is gratifying to be able to chronicle one good result arising from the failure of this expedition; it gave the Dey an exaggerated idea of his own importance, it inflamed his pride, and, happily for humanity, it hastened his fall.

He was so satisfied with what he very naturally considered his victory over the British squadron, that he commissioned a native artist to make a painting of the bombardment; this was found in his palace on the French occupation, and a copy is preserved in the Library at Algiers and forms the subject of Plate VI.[1]

[1] See Description of Plate, p. xiii.

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The author hopes he may be pardoned for lifting a corner of the veil which ought to shroud the events of private life. Mr. McDonell married his second wife at Algiers in 1815. She was the daughter of Admiral Ulrich, Danish Consul-General, who had been treated by the Dey even worse than his English colleague. The dramatic escape of herself and her infant before the battle of Algiers is narrated in Lord Exmouth's despatch. After Mr. McDonell's death she married the Duc de Talleyrand-Perigord, and died at Florence on October 2, 1880, in her eightieth year.

Very shortly before her death she wrote to the author a long and interesting letter, of which the following is an extract :—

In 1804 my father, Admiral Ulrich, was appointed consul-general to Algiers (probably to replace Mr. de Bille). He proceeded to Algiers with my mother and five children. My eldest sister married at Algiers Mr. Carstensen, whose daughter is married to Sir John Drummond Hay, British Minister at Morocco. In 1811 Mr. McDonell, under the patronage of H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, was sent to Algiers as consul-general, and we were married in the beginning of 1815. He was a widower and had four daughters, who all married : one to CaptainBuch,R.N. ; another to Mr. Holstein, who succeeded my father ; a third to General Sir George Brown, who held a command in the Crimea ; and the fourth to Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Wynyard, military governor at the Cape of Good Hope ; all dead.

We had seven children ; the eldest, who made herself so conspicuous at the time of the bombardment, died at an early age.

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CHAPTER XIX.

CONSULATE OF MORRIS THOMAS AND ROBERT WILLIAM ST. JOHN—EARTHQUAKE AT ALGIERS AND BLIDAH—STORY OF THE CONSULAR CEMETERY—CONQUEST OF ALGIERS BY THE FRENCH.

1825—1830.

On the departure of Sir Harry Neale's squadron Mr. William Danford acted a short time as pro-consul; he was succeeded on January 29, 1825, by Mr. Morris Thomas. The Regency had lost none of its old arrogance. A vessel was taken by its cruisers under the Roman flag, and though it was surrendered on the demand of the English Consul, the Dey distinctly gave him to understand that as the Regency had established no relations with His Holiness the Pope, all vessels and property which might thereafter be detained under the Roman flag would be confiscated. Two years later, when a French squadron was sent to remonstrate with him on account of his hostility to the Papal flag, he replied that if the Pope desired peace he was ready to grant one on terms similar to those existing between the Regency and such European powers as paid tribute to it.

Consul-General Thomas, writing to Lord Bathurst on March 7, 1825, reports a terrible earthquake

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which occurred on the 2nd of the same month. He says :—

This city and neighbourhood were visited by a most awful earthquake, which has continued at intervals ever since, and has thrown down three houses in the city, injured several others, and totally destroyed the town of Blidah, burying nearly all the inhabitants in its ruins; out of a population of 15,000 souls, scarcely 300 have been saved. The first two shocks occurred on Wednesday morning, the 2nd instant, at ten and forty-two minutes after ten o'clock; these were followed by two others between six and eight P.M. Three more occurred between nine and eleven on Thursday evening, two on Friday morning, and two on Saturday between one and four P.M.

As soon as the catastrophe at Blidah was known, the Agha with 3,000 men was sent to remove the ruins and prevent plunder. Hardly had he arrived at the spot when he was attacked by a vast number of Kabyles from the neighbouring mountains, and several lives were lost on both sides. In the immediate neighbourhood of the town there are large apertures in the ground for miles in different directions, chiefly from east to west, of from eight to ten feet wide and half that in depth. It is worthy of remark that before the earthquake the wells and springs became perfectly dry. A public thanksgiving has been ordered for the salvation of this city, and the Government has liberated all the captives as an act of grace.

From a very remote period Spain had obtained permission from the Dey to establish a hospital in the Bab Azoun Street, where Christian slaves of all nationalities were received and treated by Spanish monks of the order of the Trinity. One member of this congregation, a bishop and a captive, finding himself at the point of death, devoted the price of his

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ransom to the purchase of a piece of ground outside the gate Bab-el-Oued for the purpose of being buried in it with some degree of decency. The Dey, in granting him leave to do so, attached the condition that it should become a general cemetery for all Christians who might die at Algiers. After the abolition of Christian slavery by Lord Exmouth the hospital was abandoned, and the cemetery remained in a neglected condition, none of the consuls seeming to feel any special interest in its preservation. In 1826 a young Englishman of the name of Woodfall died at Algiers, and the British Consul-General took that occasion to bring the matter formally to the notice of his colleagues. On April 1, 1826, a meeting of the consular corps was held, at which a resolution was unanimously adopted to enclose this cemetery in a decent manner, as the bodies in it were 'exposed to the insults of the people and the ravages of the sea.' The Dey gave the necessary authority, and the consuls undertook, in the name of their respective Governments, to defray the cost. This was done; the cost amounted to $6,022, which was divided amongst the various nations represented at Algiers, with the exception of Spain, which, in consideration of her great sacrifices in former times, was very properly exonerated from any further charges in the matter.

After the French occupation the bodies of all who died were buried here indiscriminately, and partly owing to the encroachments of the sea, and partly to the necessity for removing the general cemetery to a greater distance from the town, a new one was

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created at St.-Eugène, and in exchange for the old European cemetery a portion of the new one, measuring four ares in area, was granted in perpetuity to the consular corps, by a deed of exchange dated July 14, 1845.

The final *dénouement* of this miserable history was now at hand, but the details of the French quarrel with Algiers are too familiar to require any further elucidation. I will confine myself to reproducing two hitherto unpublished accounts of the celebrated *coup d'éventail* from the pens of impartial witnesses. The first is a letter addressed by the Portuguese Consul to his Government, under date June 15, 1827.

Le 27 Avril dernier, le consul de France près cette régence ayant été chez le Dey pour lui faire les compliments d'usage à l'occasion de la fête du Beyram, une dispute s'éleva entre eux qui semble doit avoir des suites très sérieuses. Le Dey attendait depuis longtemps du Gouvernement de France une réponse relative à une somme de sept millions de francs qu'il réclame de la France. Il se plaignit donc au consul du retard qu'on mettait à lui donner cette réponse. Le consul lui répondit que c'est par son canal qu'on la lui enverra quand on voudra la faire. Il paraît que le Dey, soupçonnant peut-être que le consul pourrait avoir des raisons particulières pour empêcher que cette réponse lui fût envoyée, en fut fortement irrité. Il reprocha ensuite au consul d'avoir fait placer des canons sur le Fort Français près de Bone, en pleine contravention, dit-il, aux traités existant. Il est probable que le consul lui ait répondu avec trop de vivacité ; mais le fait est que le Dey en colère frappa le consul du bout d'un éventail dont le manche est en bois, et qu'il tient constamment dans sa main pour chasser les mouches. Le consul s'en plaignit et en donna rapport à son Gouvernement.

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The other account, given by the British Consul-General, of the same affair is contained in his despatch to Earl Bathurst, dated May 14 of the same year.

I have the honour to report that at a recent audience granted by the Dey to the French Consul-General, the latter was personally assaulted by His Highness, and compelled to quit the Hall of Audience. It appears that a warm discussion had arisen between them upon two points: one connected with a right assumed by the French Government to repair and garrison the old fort at La Calle; and the other upon a question arising out of the affairs of a bankrupt Jew of some celebrity in the annals of Algiers, named Bakri. Expressions of a very gross and irritating nature are said to have been indulged in by the consul, which, after having been for a time tolerated, excited the Dey's indignation to a degree that caused him to forget his own dignity, and the mild character for which he was remarkable.

What may be the result of this affair remains to be seen. Hitherto the consul has made no communication upon it to any of his colleagues, nor would it appear to be his intention to do so, as the most guarded silence is observed with respect to the whole business.

I do not purpose entering into any details regarding the long and ineffectual blockade undertaken by the French, but I have been particularly requested to publish the entries in the 'British Consular Diary,' made from day to day by Mr. Robert William St. John (who had succeeded Mr. Thomas on December 6, 1827), relative to the events that transpired after the landing of the expeditionary force under Général de Bourmont.

17 *June*, 1829.—About nine o'clock to-day some Arabs brought in a French prisoner and the heads of several other French sailors, who had landed on this coast about thirty miles

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to the eastward, from six boats sent in by the two French frigates *Iphigénie* and *Duchesse de Berri*, to cut out an empty country boat with six Moors. The latter having run their boat ashore escaped into the country, where, perceiving that the French had landed to pursue them, they collected a number of Cabails, who were reaping corn near the place, and attacked the French, consisting of sixty men, when twenty-three were killed and one taken prisoner.

This is the report the Arabs make of the event:—

The Dey has rewarded the people with $100 for each head, $200 for the prisoner, and $100 for each of the boats, of which there are three taken and one destroyed.

18 *June*.—According to the custom here, the heads that were brought yesterday were exhibited in front of the palace all day.

19 *June*.—As the French agent here (the Sardinian Consul) did not think proper to apply for the heads for burial, they were this day thrown out of the gates, and were subjected to every sort of brutal indignity. Dr. Bowen,[1] hearing of this, went to the spot where the Moors were kicking them about, and on his application to the guards the mob permitted him to collect them, and he carried off fifteen and sent them to the burial-ground, where they were delivered to the Sardinian Vice-Consul.

It appears that about one o'clock the Sardinian Consul wrote officially to the Government to demand them, and received an answer that *he had committed a great fault* in not having demanded them yesterday, as they would have been immediately delivered to him; and the Dey made the bearer of the letter acknowledge in *writing* that he had not delivered it till to-day at a quarter past one, and orders were instantly issued for their delivery to him on his application. This order may account for Dr. Bowen's good fortune in obtaining the heads without having been subjected to insult.

[1] Dr. Bowen was surgeon to the British Consulate; his house, marked *Mon. Bowen* on the plan, is that now known as the Château Hydra.

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20 *June.*—This evening Dr. Bowen procured five more of the heads, and sent them to the French agent, who does not seem to have taken any trouble to procure them himself, but who is very angry at any other person having done so.

23 *June.*—The three boats captured arrived here this morning, one of them mounting a small brass gun—and also another officer's head, who had been found drowned in his uniform, which head Dr. Bowen also procured and sent to be buried.

24 *June.*—The bodies of these unfortunate men appear to have been left by the seaside to the jackals and dogs, and the consul has received a letter from Dr. Bowen, informing him that the Sardinian Consul had applied for leave to send down his vice-consul to have them buried, and that the request was refused. It appears that such an act would probably prove fatal to any one who went there, after $100 had been paid for each head. The Doctor wished the consul to interfere, which he, in his reply, declined doing on these grounds, and from there being no reason for his interference in a case which did not concern him. And he has recommended Dr. Bowen not to interfere further.

A second letter has come from Dr. Bowen requesting the consul to urge the Sardinian Consul to apply again, and saying that if he could get permission he (Dr. B.) would undertake to get the bodies buried. The consul has declined asking the Sardinian Consul to risk a second refusal.

26 *June.*—The consul has received another letter from Dr. Bowen on the same subject, telling him that if he could not persuade the Sardinian Consul to take some steps he should be under the necessity of using his own exertions. To this the consul has replied by reminding Dr. Bowen that he has already declined interference, and told him that if he was determined, contrary to his opinion, to push the matter further, he must not expect the consul to help him if he gets into a scrape about it.

Nevertheless Dr. Bowen has made an application, which has been refused in a very uncivil manner. It must have

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been certain that after refusing this permission to the Sardinian Consul, any other applicant would have received the same answer from the Dey.

30 *June.*—The consul was informed by Dr. Bowen today that he had reason to believe that the bodies of the Frenchmen who were killed on the 17th had been buried by his means.

30 *July.*—Arrived and anchored in the bay this evening the French ship of the line *Provence*, commanded by Monsieur de la Bretonnière, and a brig, both under flags of truce.

A Spanish brig of war also arrived this evening from Alicante, having on board the new Spanish Consul-General for Algiers.

31 *July.*—The French Commodore de la Bretonnière landed this morning and proceeded to the Dey's palace, where he had a long interview with the Dey.

2 *August.*—The French Commodore had another interview with the Dey to-day, and the negotiations not having come to any satisfactory conclusion, he returned on board his ship directly after leaving the palace. It is said that the French ultimatum was that the Dey should send an ambassador to France, and on the conclusion of peace should restore the coral fishery at Bona to the French company; both of which conditions were firmly refused by the Dey.

3 *August.*—The French Commodore sailed about two o'clock to-day, and as he passed under the batteries of Algiers, they all opened their fire upon him, although his flag of truce was still flying.

He did not return the fire, nor alter his course the least, but passed along with seeming contempt.

As this atrocious breach on the part of the Algerines will in all probability stir the French to make an attack upon Algiers, the consul-general has applied officially to the commander of H.M. ship *Pelorus* to afford him protection for his family in case of such an attack.

5 *August.*—It appears to-day that the firing upon the

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French line-of-battle ship while under flag of truce was not warranted by any order of the Dey's, and that it was an act of the commander of the artillery, who, being desired to fire one gun to warn the ship not to come too near the batteries, took upon himself to make a regular attack upon her; he has in consequence been dismissed from his situation.

17 *May* 1830.—Yesterday evening intelligence was received by the Dey that two French brigs of war were lost on the 17th inst. at about fifty miles to the eastward of Algiers.

20 *May*.—Eighty-five heads of the unfortunate Frenchmen, who were taken prisoners from the two brigs that were lost on this coast, were brought to the Dey to-day, and the captain of one of the brigs has been brought alive. On his arrival in town this morning he signified his wish to see the British, Sardinian and Spanish consuls, who accordingly met at the British consulate, where he was allowed to come, and after making a statement of the occurrences, he requested the consuls to see if any steps could be taken to save the rest of the people. It appears that the leading ship ran ashore in a thick mist, and as it made no signal, the other followed and struck also.

21 *May*.—Seventy-three French prisoners arrived here late yesterday evening, including the captain of the other brig and some other officers.

The Sardinian Consul having applied to the British Consul to second him in an application to the Dey for leave to have the officers to live in the country with them on parole, an audience of the Dey was demanded, and the two consuls were on the way to the palace for that purpose, when a letter from one of the French captains announced their and the other officers' resolution to remain in the prison to share the fate of their sailors. Consequently the application was not made.

The Dey distributed this afternoon the sum of $20,000 amongst the Arabs and Kabyles who brought in the French prisoners and the heads of those whom they had murdered, giving them $100 for each head and $100 for each prisoner. The total number of killed is 109.

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23 *May.*—The Dey sent his interpreter to the consul-general to show him a proclamation, written in Arabic, which the French Government has caused to be distributed amongst the Arabs in the country, several copies of which have been brought to the Dey by the Arab chiefs, and for which the Dey has paid 100 Bugios each (about $43), to encourage them to bring the rest, that none should remain amongst them. It throws the whole blame of the war on the Dey alone; states that he is the only person that the French consider their enemy, and that he alone shall be punished; promises security of house and property to all; respect to their women; and ample payment for provisions in case they will not support him. The Dey's object in sending this proclamation to the consul was to complain to the consul of the French proscribing him for what he consider so slight an offence as that of fly-flapping their consul, who provoked him to do it by his intemperate language.

1 *June.*—A plot was discovered to depose the Dey; several Turks were arrested, three were immediately put to death, and the rest sent into the interior; others suspected have absconded.

7 *June.*—The Bey of Constantine has arrived to-day with troops to act against the French.

9 *June.*—The Bey of Titiri has also arrived to-day with troops from the interior. The Bey of Oran, who cannot come himself, as the Arabs in his district are in revolt, has sent his Khalifa with a few troops to assist the Dey.

13 *June.*—The French fleet arrived to-day, and, after passing before the town, proceeded to the Bay of Sidi Ferrudj, where they all anchored in the course of the after-noon.

14 *June.*—The French army effected a landing this morning at Sidi Ferrudj with very little opposition, and immediately commenced entrenchments.

15 *June.*—A large fleet of transports has arrived to-day and is laying to, off the bay. It is reported that the Arabs were beaten yesterday by the French soon after they landed,

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but as yet they have not arrived in any great numbers, and several of them have been sent away again, having come without arms, which, as well as provisions, have not been provided by Government.

16 *June.*—It is reported to-day that the Arabs endeavoured this morning to make an attack upon the French camp, but were repulsed by the cannon.

17 *June.*—A quantity of Arabs and Cabyles have arrived to-day from the mountains to attack the French. It is said their number amounts to 26,000, but probably there is not a quarter of that. They fired a good deal the whole day upon the French, who only returned it occasionally with cannon.

19 *June.*—There has been a battle to-day between the two armies. The French have beaten the Algerines, who have been obliged to retreat and leave behind them all their camp, which has been taken by the French as well as the Agha's military chest, 200 sheep, 600 bullocks, besides a quantity of other things.

The Agha has returned to Algiers, and the Arabs have fled in all directions and allege that the Agha has refused to give them powder to fight with. The Cogia Cavallo, or second in command, has also returned to Algiers with the Agha.

20 *June.*—The French remain in the position they took yesterday at Staweli, and have formed their camp there. The Arabs and Cabyles are overrunning the country, plundering all the houses they can get into, and eating all the fruit in the gardens, crying out that they are dying of hunger. The Dey has sent the Agha to his garden in disgrace and has entrusted the entire command of his forces to the Bey of Titiri, who will now act as Agha, and is forming another camp at Staweli near the one they lost yesterday. They are trying to collect together the Arabs and Cabyles again by giving them gunpowder, but a great number of them are already gone back to their mountains. The Cogia Cavallo is also disgraced.

21 *June.*—The Agha has been allowed to go out to the camp again, to serve with the Beys of Titiri and Constantine,

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but not to have command. The French army is where it was yesterday, and there has been no fighting to-day.

23 *June.*—The Algerines have formed three or four little camps in different directions, and have at last got a few tents. A great many new Arabs and Cabyles have arrived, but it is impossible to ascertain the number.

24 *June.*—There has been a good deal of fighting to-day, and the Algerines have been repeatedly beaten by the French, who have advanced considerably towards the town. They have taken several houses, which they have filled with troops and hoisted the French flag on them. The Algerines have sent all their tents into town, and are scattered about in many directions.

An American, serving as interpreter with the French army, was taken prisoner to-day and carried to the Dey, who questioned him on the different forces which the French had brought here; and when he told the Dey that they had brought 200 cannons with them, His Highness got into a violent passion with him, saying that he had told him a falsehood, and had his head cut off for it immediately.

25 *June.*—The French continue in the same position which they took yesterday. The Algerines have kept up a brisk fire upon them all the day, but they seem to be at too great a distance to be affected by it.

A Spanish man-of-war arrived this morning, and as it approached the town the batteries fired upon it and obliged it to go off. It appears the Dey has given orders to fire upon vessels that should attempt to approach. H.M. brig *Ferret* arrived also this evening in the bay, but did not come near enough to be fired upon.

26 *June.*—A good deal of firing has been kept up all day by the Algerines on the French, who have not advanced any further, but have been considerably reinforced from their head-quarters. The *Ferret* is still in the bay, and an English cutter, a yacht, came in also this morning, and a gun was fired at her to make her go out again.

27 *June.*—There has been some fighting to-day between

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the French skirmishers and the Algerines, who it is said have lost nearly 1,000 men. The French still continue in the same position, and have received great supplies to-day, as a quantity of waggons and cannon, escorted by cavalry, have been seen coming on the new road which they have made.

The Arabs and Cabyles have plundered a great many Jews' houses, and on a complaint being made about it to the Bey of Titiri, who commands where it happened, he said that it might cause their people to go back to their mountains if he punished any one at this moment.

The Dey has discontinued giving $100 for each French head that is brought to him, and has promised that he will reward all alike.

28 *June.*—The French are still where they were yesterday; the Cabyles have made a slight attack upon them, and have lost about 400 men.

29 *June.*—This morning very early the French advanced rapidly and took possession of all the hills that command the town. They met with no resistance, all the Algerines having fled, and they are now bringing up their battering train.

The general commanding the French troops on this side of the country has sent a guard of seven men to protect this consulate from any straggling party of French.

30 *June.*—There has been some fighting to-day near the Emperor's Fort, where the French are preparing their batteries to attack that fort, and both parties have suffered a good deal.

The country houses of the consuls have been broken into by the French, and some people killed in that of the Neapolitan Consul.

The French Commander-in-Chief sent an officer to-day to the consul-general, to request him to convey a message of a threatening nature to the Dey, respecting the safety of the French prisoners who are in Algiers, which the consul-general declined doing, fearing that it might exasperate the Dey, and make him commit some act of cruelty which otherwise he would probably not think of.

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1 *July.*—This morning two French ships of the line and nine frigates, under the command of Rear-Admiral Rosamel, came and fired for about an hour at some small forts near the town on the west side, but as they kept entirely out of gunshot no harm was done, and it was the most ridiculous thing that could be witnessed.

2 *July.*—Nothing particular has happened to-day. The French are going on with their works for the siege of the Fort de l'Empereur.

3 *July.*—At 2 o'clock P.M. to-day the whole French fleet, under Vice-Admiral Duperré, came in and attacked the forts of the town and those to the west of it. Every ship fired as it passed by (hardly within gunshot), which took up about two hours; and they then went off, having done no sort of damage whatsoever, which renders the business still more ridiculous than that of the 1st July, the force being so much greater. There were seven sail of the line, and an immense number of frigates and other vessels. They only threw two shells into the town.

4 *July.*—At three o'clock this morning the French opened their fire upon the Fort de l'Empereur, which lasted till ten, when the Algerine troops went out of it and set fire to the powder-magazine. The explosion exhibited a magnificent sight, and in a few minutes after the French troops entered and fixed their banners on its shattered remains.

The Dey then sent for the consul-general and requested him to go to the French Commander-in-Chief on his part to know what terms he wanted, and the Commander-in-Chief replied that he required the town to surrender to-morrow morning at ten o'clock: promising at the same time the security of the Dey's person and property, as well as that of all the inhabitants of the town. This answer having been given in writing, it was sent to the Dey by his own secretary, who had gone out with the consul.

5 *July.*—The Dey sent for the consul again this morning to know whether he could really depend upon his own safety and that of the inhabitants of the town, as promised by the

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French general, and said that in that case he was ready to surrender the town and sign the convention offered him by the Commander-in-Chief; and on the consul's assuring him that he could do so, His Highness put his seal to the convention, and requested the consul to be the bearer of it to the French general, at the same time begging him to get the Commander-in-Chief to give him two hours more to be able to remove his family from the palace to his private house. The consul complied with the Dey's wishes, and, having obtained the delay asked for by the Dey, the French troops were detained until one o'clock, at which hour they marched into the town and took possession of the Dey's palace and all the forts. The consul, fearing that in the confusion some atrocity might be committed on the French prisoners, obtained their liberation from the Dey before he left the palace, and had them sent to the British consulate, taking with him to the French camp the captains of the two brigs of war that had been lost on the coast.

6 *July*.—The Dey sent for the consul-general this morning and expressed his wish to leave this country, and said that he depended entirely upon him for advice under his present circumstances. After some conversation, His Highness requested the consul to go to the French general and arrange matters with him about a conveyance, expressing a wish to have a vessel to carry him to Malta. The consul proceeded as requested and executed the Dey's commission, to which the Commander-in-Chief agreed in every respect very readily, and said that he would place a ship of the line at the Dey's disposal to carry him wherever he chose to go from hence.

7 *July*.—The Dey paid a visit to-day to the French Commander-in-Chief, who had sent to tell him that he wished to see him. A guard of honour and a band of music were sent to accompany him up to the palace, where he was received with all possible honours and civilities, and his arms and all his property that had been left by him in the palace, were restored to him.

He sent a message this evening to the consul-general to

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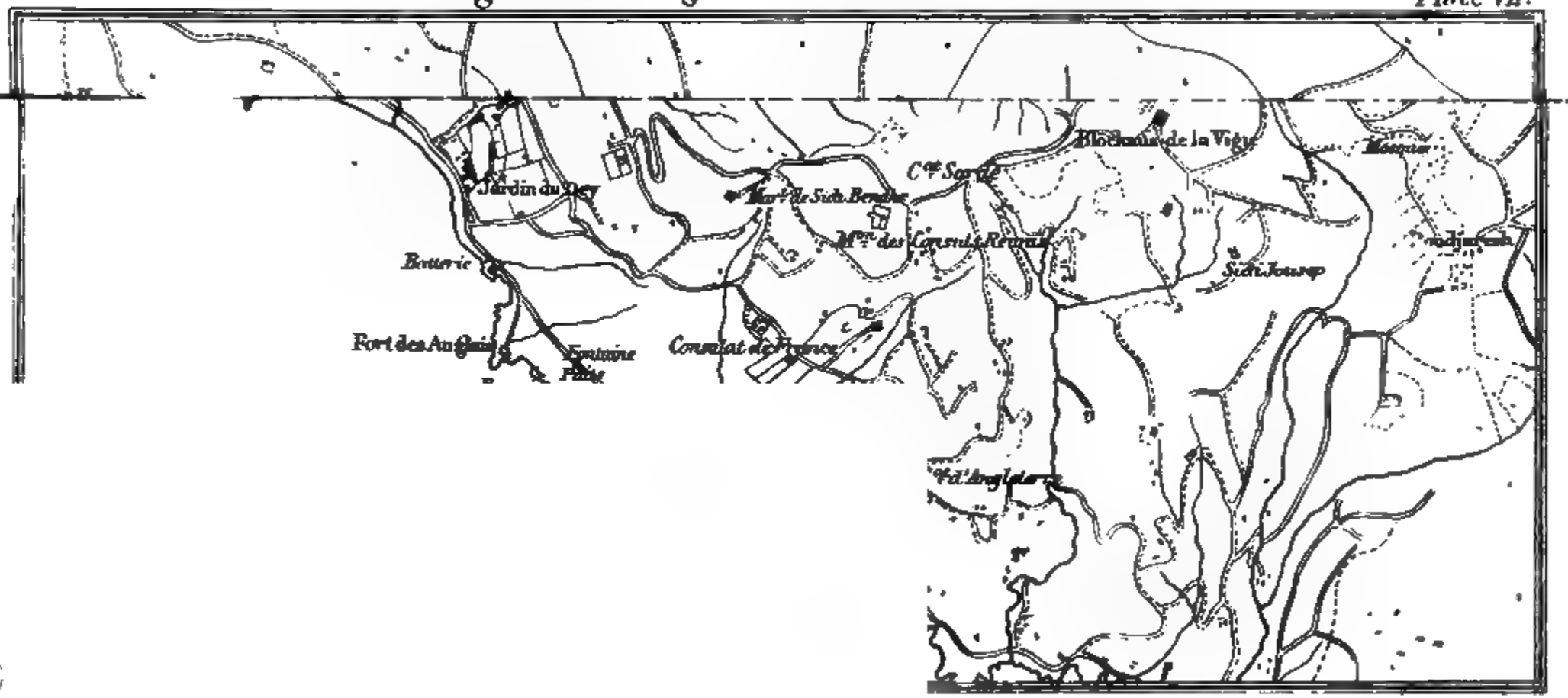
Plan general d'Alger et des environs en 1832.

Plate VII.



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say that he had changed his mind about going to Malta, and that he had determined to go to Leghorn.

The Commander-in-Chief has issued a proclamation to-day, desiring the inhabitants to make themselves perfectly easy and open their shops, and informing them that they will continue to be governed by a Mohammedan Government. They are also all ordered to give up their arms.

9 *July*.—Notice has been given this afternoon to all the unmarried Turks that they are to embark to-morrow morning.

10 *July*.—A Municipal Commission of seven of the principal inhabitants of the town has been appointed to-day by the Commander-in-Chief, and it is to be assisted by a French officer.

All the unmarried Turks were shipped off this morning for Smyrna; $5 were given to each.

The Commander-in-Chief has addressed a circular letter to all the European consuls at Algiers, notifying to them that the French consulate at Algiers has been re-installed, and that Monsieur Alex. Deval, late French Consul at Bona, will perform the duties of consul-general *pro tempore*, and that any communication that they may wish to make to him must be made through that consul.

11 *July*.—The Dey, with all his family, suite and property, sailed to-day in a French frigate for Naples, which place he had ultimately chosen for a residence.

The late Agha and Minister of Marine, who are both his sons-in-law, are also gone with him.

12 *July*.—It is said that the French Commander-in-Chief has declared to the army, in an order of the day, that the treasure which has been found in Algiers is fully enough to pay all the expenses of the war and leave a handsome profit to the nation. In a separate despatch Mr. St. John states the sum to be 150 million of francs.

29 *July*.—All the Turks who held situations under the late Government were called to the palace to-day, and from thence, without any previous notice, were sent off under a guard of soldiers and embarked on a French ship of war.

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The Khasnadji was also sent for in the evening and sent off in the same way.

30 *July*.—All the Turks, without exception, that still remained in Algiers, were ordered this morning to embark by twelve o'clock, on the French ships of war which were ready to receive them. The consuls having applied for permission for their dragomans and guardians to remain attached to their consulates, it was granted, provided they answered for their conduct.

This story may well be completed by a remark made by Consul-General St. John in a despatch to Sir George Murray, Secretary of State for the Colonies: 'So perfect has been Monsieur de Bourmont's conduct up to the present moment, that I scarcely know which to admire most; his moderation in complete success, or the poor old Dey's equanimity in no common adversity.'

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